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THE CHRIST OF BEWCASTLE

Frontispiece

THE ARTS IN EARLY ENGLAND

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THE RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE CROSSES THE GOSPELS OF LINDISFARNE, AND OTHER CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF NORTHUMBRIA

WITH PHILOLOGICAL CHAPTERS BY

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SIX DOUBLE, THIRTY-EIGHT SINGLE HALF-TONE PLATES
THIRTY-NINE LINE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

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PREFATORY NOTE

The scope and character of the present Volume are stated in the Introductory Chapter, where it is also explained that because some of the chapters deal at length with early Anglo-Saxon inscriptions in the runic character, the form and matter of which are of the highest interest and importance, in this part an expert philologist has collaborated.

In the Prefatory Note to Vol. III of this work, published in 1915, certain explanations were given of the arrangement of the book on the mechanical side, and a brief re-statement may be convenient. In order to save space in the necessarily numerous chronological references the plan is adopted of using large Roman numerals to indicate a particular century, the appropriate prepositions being, where needful, understood. Thus 'VII' means in or of the seventh century, 'V work' fifth century work, and so on. References to the pages of the Volume are always included within brackets, as (p. 100), and this will save the confusion due to uncertainty whether in a particular case a citation refers to the pages of the Volume itself or to those of some other work that may just have been referred to. Cross-references of this kind are numerous throughout the Volume, and are designed to enable the reader to refer at once to a previous or a future expression of opinion, instead of being confronted with the vague and often exasperating statements, 'as has been said,' 'as we have seen,' 'as will be shown in the sequel,' and the like, or the inelegant 'antea' and 'postea.' In place of the often ambiguous 'left' and 'right,' the heraldic terms 'dexter' and 'sinister' have been employed in this Volume and will be retained in any that may follow. They mean of course 'right' and 'left'

as viewed from the object towards the spectator, not from the spectator towards the object.

Opportunity is taken in notes to the text to acknowledge kindness shown by capitular bodies, councils of antiquarian societies, and individuals, but special thanks are hereby offered to the officials of the Bodleian Library and of the Department of MSS. at the British Museum, especially to the present Keeper, and the retired Keeper Sir George Warner, who have kindly furnished information and material for the discussions in the latter part of this Volume.

The councils of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and of the Royal Archaeological Institute have been good enough to permit the reissue in the following pages of matter that has appeared in the same or a different form in publications under their control, and a special obligation of the same kind is also acknowledged in the case of the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office. In this connection it must be explained that the greater part of such matter in this volume as is concerned with the Ruthwell Cross was put into its present form for the forthcoming Inventory of Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions in Dumfriesshire, in which it will accordingly have a place. Owing however to the fact that the date of publication of the Inventory has been delayed and is still uncertain, the Controller of the Stationery Office, with the consent of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions (Scotland), has waived his right to prior publication of this particular material, and for this concession cordial thanks are hereby offered. Acknowledgment is also due for facilities granted by the Royal Commission and for assistance rendered by its staff.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

THE INTENTION, CONTENT, AND MAIN CONCLUSIONS OF THE PRESENT VOLUME

THE FRONTISPIECE exhibits a characteristic piece of sculpture from the carved cross shaft at Bewcastle in Cumberland, the most interesting and in some ways most beautiful monument of Anglo-Saxon antiquity. It is a figure of Christ, cut on the spot, in local stone, and for more than twelve hundred years it has looked down on the country churchyard to the very wall of which descend the rolling Northumbrian moors. The grace and expressiveness of the classically moulded effigy will be apparent to every eye, and its contrast with its surroundings lends a charm in which there is an element of paradox and uncertainty that stimulates inquiry. At what date and with what intent the cross was set up are questions which every one would ask, and to find some answer is one of the main purposes of the chapters that follow.

The Volume as a whole deals at considerable length with this piece and with its sister monument at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, as well as with the contemporary masterpiece in quite another style, the famous illuminated manuscript called the 'Gospels of Lindisfarne,' one of the chief treasures of the British Museum. These are works to which attaches an artistic rather than a purely archaeological interest and value. They are achievements of one of the greatest ages of our oldest English culture, that of the Northumbria of Oswald and Aidan, of Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, of Cædmon and of Bede. It was of course the age too of Aldhelm of Sherborne and of men of mark in the Church of the southern part

of the island, but on the whole in the latter part of VII the Northumbrians were the acknowledged leaders in the field of culture. It will not be difficult to show that they can claim the same pre-eminence in art. The Volume might indeed have as its sub-title 'Northumbrian Art in the Seventh Century,' save for the fact that it includes a study of certain productions of earlier date that lead up to Northumbrian works of the great epoch, and that one notable monument of the period itself has necessarily been excluded. This is the so-called 'Franks Casket' of the British Museum, undoubtedly a Northumbrian work of the early period but one that cannot at this stage be properly studied. The earlier, pre-Northumbrian works referred to comprise a group of memorial stones in Galloway, bearing inscriptions and crosses, that are of special importance in connection with the development of the monumental cross, which became in the Anglo-Saxon period a familiar object in English churchyards.

These carved crosses of pre-Norman date, or rather the fragments of them, are extremely numerous and occur in practically every part of the British Isles, but the two at Bewcastle and Ruthwell possess an interest surpassing that of any other examples. There is a great display both of figure work and of ornament on later crosses, notably the abundant so-called 'High Crosses' of Ireland, but in artistic quality in design and carving nothing equals the Northumbrian stones. This of itself would justify the full treatment of which they are here the subject, but there is the additional fact that their date and provenance have been for a long time past the themes of active controversy. On the settlement of this controversy depend many questions regarding this group of monuments as a whole. It is not possible indeed to deal effectively with the pre-Conquest carved stones in general until the position of the two great Northumbrian crosses has been fixed, and no serious attempt to establish this has any prospect of success unless the whole available evidence be thoroughly marshalled

and examined critically from every side. This evidence is in one aspect historical in another aesthetic, but it is not only archaeology in this wide sense that is involved but philology and the study of runes. Both crosses are inscribed partly in Latin partly in runic letters, and the form and technique of such inscriptions with the shapes of the characters are in regard to date of equal importance with the content of what is written. The form and language are either Latin and consist in titles or quotations from the Vulgate, or are Anglo-Saxon, and in this case the matter contained in the inscription is either historical or literary. There may be given, that is to say, names and information relating to the times, to the erection of the monument, or to its subject; or again the matter may be couched in poetic form and appeal to the imagination. There are on the Bewcastle cross titles and historical inscriptions, on the Ruthwell cross lines of Anglo-Saxon poetry, expressed in both cases in the runic characters. The reading and the decipherment of these runes is a matter of the utmost importance, first, for the establishment of an accurate text, and, next, for the fixing of the date of the inscriptions through the nature and shape of the characters employed. When a text is formed as complete as the material allows, and when the chronology of the runes has been as far as possible ascertained, it becomes the function of philology to interpret the text and formulate the available evidence for its date on the basis of the grammatical and literary forms it presents. In the controversies referred to above about the date of the crosses philological arguments have played a considerable part, and in order that justice may be done to this important part of the subject the writer has secured the collaboration of his friend and former colleague, Mr Blyth Webster, professor of English Literature in the University of St Andrews, who has contributed to this Volume an extended philological report on both the Bewcastle and the Ruthwell runic inscriptions, contained in Chapters VIII and IX.

Nine Chapters out of the seventeen in this Volume are devoted to the theme of these two monuments, but it is believed that the reader will acquiesce in the view that it is only by the exploration of the subject even into the minuter details that a satisfactory result can be hoped for. As a fact, in disputed questions of date it is often the small but distinctive detail that really carries conviction, while general disquisitions on style may leave the reader with the uneasy sense that they might easily be countered by similar representations from an opposite point of view.

For example, it is in itself a comparatively trifling detail that the 'Christ in Glory' on the Ruthwell cross is figured with a moustache and no beard, but the significance of the fact as bearing not so much on date as on authorship can hardly be overestimated. Every student of ancient sculpture knows that the moustache without a beard is entirely unclassical, while it is a distinctively barbaric feature, as is seen in the case of the 'Dying Gaul' of the Capitoline Museum. No classical heads present it, the only possible exceptions being one or two Byzantine coins of VI and VII figuring in this way Justin II, Heraclius, and Constans II.[1] On the other hand the moustache on an otherwise smooth face is almost aggressively in evidence on many Anglo-Saxon sceattas, and appears as a pronounced Anglo-Saxon feature in the Bayeux tapestry. The inference which it is natural to draw from its presence at Ruthwell seems to involve such a paradox that readers may be inclined to question the fact as here stated. Any one however who examines closely, if not the original stone, at any rate one or other of the casts available at the Victoria and Albert Museum and in other collections, can easily verify what has been said, see postea (p. 130).

The conclusions at which the two collaborators have arrived in regard to the date and provenance of the crosses are based on a critical examination sufficiently minute to take

[1] For references see (p. 131).

account even of points of this kind. They have not started with any preconceived theories, but have striven faithfully to follow the indications of the evidence. These necessarily extended discussions have not however been lengthened by any examination of the considerable literature which has grown up about the crosses, save in so far as it has been needful to rectify erroneous statements which have appeared in print and if left uncorrected might confuse the treatment of the subject. Nor have the various theories enunciated by experts or amateurs been discussed seriatim, but it should be noticed that the crosses have received almost as much attention abroad as at home. Continental scholars fully recognize the archaeological and artistic value of the monuments, and speculation as to their date and provenance occupies the attention of all professed students of the Early Christian and early mediaeval periods. It may be said generally that the leading French archaeologists of the day combine in ascribing the style of the works to VII, whereas some of the best known experts in Germany have favoured a date in X, while XII, an excellent refuge for the antiquary in trouble about his dates, has found influential Italian and American support. It has been of especial help to receive a letter kindly sent by M. Emil Mâle, who is recognized as the first French authority of the day on the artistic aspect of Early Christian archaeology, and who on a basis of photographic reproductions of the crosses decides for a VII date. It is pertinent to the subject also to note that the author of the recently published monumental German work on pre-Carolingian manuscripts, often referred to in the text of Chapters XIV to XVI, accepts the crosses as coeval with the Gospels of Lindisfarne, of the end of VII.

It may be stated as a brief summary of the conclusions reached that the evidence of the runic characters is absolutely conclusive against a XII date or one after or even near the Norman Conquest, but a plausible argument against a date

as early as the end of VII may be founded on the occurrence of certain runic characters commonly recognized as late. This argument is of course critically examined in its place. The argument from philology taken by itself would point to a date not later than the fourth decade of VIII, though it might be earlier. The archaeological evidence would apply about equally well to the date 725 as to 675, but the argument from history, as is shown in Chapter XI, is immensely in favour of the earlier epoch, and the writer of the archaeological part of this Volume, who has hitherto always expressed doubts as to the chronological problem, is now quite confident in his own mind that a date somewhere about 675 is the only one that reasonably satisfies all the conditions.

The Ruthwell cross has had a chequered history, and now, scheduled as an ancient monument, it stands within the Dumfriesshire church under the watchful care of the Rev. John Dinwiddie, to whom all lovers of our Early Christian antiquities owe gratitude for the courtesy and help extended to the visitors, who, to the number of about 400 yearly, have made a pilgrimage to the monument. The Bewcastle cross has never been moved from its original place, where possibly it marks the grave of a Northumbrian prince. To any visitor possessed of imagination it is of the two monuments by far the more interesting, because it has not been museumized. Voices are from time to time raised in the plea that it should be 'put under protection.' The years, it is true, have laid their hand upon it, and each year that passes effects another twelve-hundredth part of the whole damage it has suffered, but it may safely be said that in the pure air of the Cumbrian moors it takes less harm in twenty years than an out-door marble monument will suffer in a month from the chemically-charged and smoke-laden atmosphere of a great town. Against the danger of wanton injury it is saved by its remoteness from centres of population, as well as by the vigilant guardianship

of successive rectors of Bewcastle, whose manse commands from its heights above the stream the approach of possible raiders from the south, while their garden gate opens into the churchyard. There the Cross stands, one among many memorial stones, a thousand years older than almost all of these but still essentially one of them, a living thing, part of the furniture of the place, a link of the present with the remoter past. It is a pious not a merely sentimental hope that there it may long remain—not 'under protection,' not covered in, not fenced around, not fortified by warning notice boards; not underpinned, nor even set upright; not drenched with silicated broths; not scheduled nor inspected, owing no obedience to Monument Acts or to the Office of Works—long may she abide, the faithful guardian of millennial memories; let us not lightly sever the bond, but 'Give her the glory of going on, and still to be.'

To turn to more prosaic considerations, the present Volume is connected in subject alike with that on Anglo-Saxon Christian architecture and with the two more recent ones on the art of the pagan Anglo-Saxon period. The objects to be reviewed are Christian and belong to the apparatus of religion to which the churches gave housing and significance, while the traditions of decorative art which they illustrate are to a great extent derived from classical lands, the home of Christianity itself. Other elements however, drawn from non-classical sources, mingle with these, and a few sentences may be devoted to an attempt at their elucidation. We are not here concerned with Teutonic mythology nor with Scandinavian elements that do not appear till the Viking period when they become of importance. The Franks Casket which introduces the first, and the carved stones and arms and other objects in metal that exhibit 'Norse' or 'Danish' peculiarities, are reserved for future treatment, but even on the comparatively few objects dealt with in this Volume there

is a good deal more than can be explained on the theory of importation from Italy or Gaul. There are to be reckoned with the forms of Teutonic decorative art as exemplified in the abundant tomb furniture of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and as archaeologists know the influence of these is now seen to be of far greater importance than had previously been suspected. There is also to be taken into account the art called Celtic, which, whatever its origin and previous history, was in the Early Christian centuries centred specially in Ireland. The connections between Celtic and Anglo-Saxon art have never formed the subject of exhaustive study, and there has been a tendency, noticed in the Introductory Chapter to Vol. III, to assume that wherever the two seem to come into close relation the Celtic element must be assumed to be prior and more important. It so happens that a small but interesting class of Northumbrian antiques noticed here in Chapters II and III, the so-called Hartlepool tombstones, affords an opportunity for reviewing this accepted doctrine, which is a good deal shaken in the process. The connections assume prominence also in relation to the cross as a monumental form and to the cross as a work of art. On the subject of the monumental cross, which becomes of such importance not only in the later Anglo-Saxon period in England but in the British Isles generally throughout the Middle Ages, the following may be said.

It will be made clear in Chapter VI that the monumental cross, first no doubt in wood and then in stone, was quite a familiar object in Celtic lands in VI and VII, if not already in V. Its presence and use in Ireland, in Strathclyde, in Wales, is well attested, and it was employed in reference to the past the present and the future. It was a memorial of bygone striking events; it marked a spot of immediate interest such as a boundary limit; it pointed forward to new activities in the Christian propaganda; in its sepulchral use it was of comprehensive import in that it was at once a record of a life that had ended on earth, a present mark of inviolability for

the tomb, a promise of immortality. The beginning of the use of the cross in Anglo-Saxon England may be ascribed with some plausibility to Celtic influence. It is true that Augustine introduced the processional cross at Canterbury and the processional may have influenced the monumental cross, but nothing is said about this last in connection with early operations of the Roman clergy, while the crosses in midland and southern England, of which we hear in VII and on which something will be said in the future, may have been due at first to the propaganda inspired from Celtic Lindisfarne. By the year 636 however, if we accept what Bede tells us, the use of the monumental cross had not begun even in the part of England nearest to the Celtic missionary centre. Once started however with Oswald's wonder-working cross of wood the use would doubtless spread rapidly, and simple crosses in timber or stone may soon have become familiar.

The question of the monumental cross as a work of art is of course a different one. It must be remarked that, numerous as are the references to early crosses in Ireland some of which were of stone, we never hear of their being decorated. Taken in connection with the fact that the decorated grave-slabs at Hartlepool are seen now to precede similar decorated grave-slabs in Ireland, this would seem to point to a priority in the application of art to such monuments in favour of our own country as against the sister isle. It is always to be remembered that there was considerable artistic activity in England in the period covered by the last two volumes of this work, and Teutonic artistic traditions existed in this country side by side with Celtic and with classical. In the work on the crosses and on the Ormside Bowl (Chapter XIII) there is nothing Celtic, and the style may be described as a modification in the spirit of Teutonic design of traditional motives of classical origin. Two VII works of the first importance still remain—the Franks Casket and the Gospels of Lindisfarne. In the former little or nothing that is Celtic

can be discerned, but the appearance in the figure work of motives drawn from Teutonic mythology has for reasons of space and of arrangement relegated it to a subsequent volume. In the manuscript on the other hand the classical element is confined to small and distinctive portions, while all that is really characteristic and that gives the piece its artistic position is in a special style that has been universally recognized as Celtic or Hibernian. A careful examination of the Lindisfarne book leads however to a sensible modification of the traditional view. When we compare it with its Irish compeer, the Book of Kells at Trinity College, Dublin, we are struck with a certain severity which runs sometimes to stiffness and monotony in design, and which contrasts with the complexity and waywardness that characterize the Irish ornamentation. There is a suggestion of Anglian character in the design that bears out what we are told about the origin of the book. Furthermore, some of the most important motives in the ornamentation, such as the birds, the convoluted animals (and possibly also the interlacing work) are to all appearance derived either from nature or from Teutonic tomb furniture, and are not Celtic and not Italian or Gallic in their origin. In praise of the execution of the ornamental work in the manuscript it is impossible to say too much. It is not only extraordinarily minute and elaborate in technique but the drawing, especially of the animals, is full of character, and there is an accent in the rendering of distinctive details such as claws and joints that reminds us a little of the way such points are emphasized in the cutting of Greek coin dies. These qualities in the work are only to be discerned when the ornament is minutely examined, and it is hoped that the reader who gives due attention to the plates which illustrate details on an enlarged scale will acquiesce in what has just been said.

The last objects noticed in the Volume are the fragments of the ornamented wooden coffin found in the grave of St

Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral when it was opened in 1827, and believed to be the coffin made by the monks of Lindisfarne for the second interment of the body of the saint in 698. If we accept the date and authenticity of this interesting relic we are landed in a difficulty that has given rise to no little discussion. The work on the coffin, consisting in incised figure designs with titles partly in Latin characters and partly in Anglian runes, is in appearance somewhat rude and primitive, and the difficulty is to believe that it can be contemporaneous with the illuminated manuscript just extolled for its artistic merit and technical finish. All discussion of the interesting question thus raised must be reserved for the last Chapter of the Volume.

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF GALLOWAY

In the case of the architectural monuments of the Anglo-Saxon period that formed the subject of Volume II of this work, we are fortunate enough to be able to begin their study with two examples the origin and early date of which can be established on incontestible evidence. The reference is to the two crypts at Ripon and Hexham, about which there can be no possible doubt that they were constructed by Wilfrid about 675 A.D.[1] In the matter of the monuments in sculptured stone with which we have at present to deal the position is a corresponding one. Although we cannot proceed far in the study of pre-Conquest carved stones without finding ourselves involved in complicated and difficult questions of chronology, we have the advantage of starting here also with a fixed point. This is supplied by a group of monuments in the south-west of Scotland in a region once embraced within the limits of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. It consists in inscribed and at times ornamented memorials that are in the main of sepulchral use, and that are the earliest datable works of the kind in the country of assured Christian origin. A historical interest of a special kind attaches to them in that they exhibit in a marked degree the influence of Roman civilization and Roman ecclesiastical forms, while they are archaeologically important in that, though not themselves of Teutonic origin and earlier in date than the Anglian conquest of the region in which they are found, they are in form and character ancestors

[1] *The Arts in Early England*, II, 264 f.

or prototypes of Anglo-Saxon monuments of later date and must necessarily be included in a survey like the present.

The stones in question occur in the important historical district of Galloway, where Bede tells us that Christianity was established at an early date through the missionary labours of Ninian, whose connection with St Martin, and hence with the early Gallic church, is attested by other evidence. To Ninian and his labours a page was devoted in the first volume of this work,[1] and it was there noticed that monumental remains of his activity and that of his ecclesiastical successors are still to be seen in the region that was the centre of his operations. The remains are on two sites, one in the westernmost of the peninsulas, called The Rinns of Galloway, the other in the middle peninsula known locally as The Machers, where is the ancient Priory of Whithorn the traditional site of the stone church in the Roman manner built by Ninian and known afterwards as Candida Casa. On each site upright stones of a memorial character have been found bearing Latin names in Roman characters and at times the Christian so-called Chi-Rho monogram. There are three such stones in The Rinns, and at Whithorn two, and in view of their extreme importance a full description is called for.

That part of The Rinns south of the Portpatrick and Wigtownshire railway is divided into two parishes; the southernmost that of Kirkmaiden, the word covering a dedication to the Irish virgin Saint Medana; the more northerly that of Stoneykirk, which should be 'Steenie's kirk' or 'Stevenskirk—a dedication to St Stephen.[2] Subsequently to the Reformation, in 1618, Stoneykirk parish absorbed two other ecclesiastical areas, Clayshant and Taskerton. On the estate of Taskerton is situated a very ancient burial ground

[1] Vol. I, p. 161.

[2] The name 'occurs as Stevenskirk in Court of Session papers in 1725.' Sir Herbert Maxwell in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 5th ser., vol. III, 1916-17, p. 199 f.

in which stood a pre-Reformation church known as Kirkmadrine, that no doubt served as the parish church of the area known later as the parish of Taskerton.[1] To-day Kirkmadrine is a name to conjure with, but till the general recognition of the archaeological treasures it enshrined which only dates back some half century, it was of so little importance that it is not mentioned at all in the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, of which vol. II, containing the notice of Stoneykirk, was published in 1792. The older church, or the latest of successive churches on the site, is stated to have become 'a mere heap of ruins, when it was completely restored . . . towards the end of the last,' i.e., the nineteenth, 'century.'[2] It has now lost its ecclesiastical status and serves as the burial chapel of the MacTaggart Stewart family of Ardwell. Though the old church does not seem to have been of recognized importance the ancient graveyard remained in local honour, and we find in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. IV, 1845, Wigtownshire, p. 164, 'And Kirkmadrine, with its churchyard still preserved as a burying place, contains some grave stones, with antique inscriptions.'[3] About the year 1820 some of these inscriptions had attracted the attention of a scholarly local schoolmaster of antiquarian tastes, and he

[1] In the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, new ed., Edin., 1917, II, 352, we read, 'Stoneykirk (formerly Steeniekirk), Clayshant, and Toskertoun. (These three parishes were united in 1618.) Toskertoun . . . the church of Toskertoun, now generally called Kirkmadryne, belonged to the Priory of Whitern . . . the church was dedicated to St. Medran of Muskerry.' *Origines Parochiales* does not include an account of the parish.

[2] *Highways and Byways in Galloway and Carrick*, by Rev. C. H. Dick, London, 1916, p. 318.

[3] The name Kirkmadrine has been a good deal discussed. That the last two syllables contain a form of the name 'Martin' is a conjecture which derives a superficial verisimilitude from the known relation of Ninian to the great apostle of Gaul. See the paper by Sir Herbert Maxwell referred to in note 1 (p. 29). There is however an insuperable objection to it. In Kirkmadrine the stress is on the final syllable whereas in all forms in which the name Martin appears in Gaelic the stress is on the penultimate. Stress is of course in the Gaelic a

made a drawing of three of the stones 'as they stand in the old Burial ground at Kirkmadrine.' The graveyard was then open and unfenced and cattle strayed in among the tombs, but some twenty years after Mr Todd had made the drawing referred to[1] a new minister just ordained to the parish 'took a collection to erect a dyke round the graveyard to keep out the cattle,' and two of the erect inscribed stones were installed as the posts of the gate of entrance. There in the early sixties of the nineteenth century they caught the eye of the distinguished Scottish archaeologist Sir Arthur Mitchell, who 'when climbing over the gate' . . . 'observed that there was a figure and an inscription on the stone pillar on which it was hung' and 'found that the other pillar, to which the gate fell, had a similar figure on it, and also what appeared to be a continuation of the inscription.'[2] This discovery brought into public view two of these remarkable monuments, but Mr Todd had made a drawing of three, and of the third Sir Arthur could find no trace, so that the piece was recorded as 'lost' even as late as the publication of the *Report* on the Galloway monuments issued in 1912 by the Royal Commission on The Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.[3] During the autumn of 1916 however a fortunate discovery, the details of which are worth recording, brought the missing monument to light within about a mile of its original position. It has now been placed with the other two, which, provision-

very constant quantity. The noted authority on Celtic place names, Professor Watson of Edinburgh University, thinks the word should be divided Kirk-madrine, 'ma' being a honorific prefix, and 'drine' covering perhaps the name of some saint of local but not general fame. The suggested dedication to St Medran of Muskerry is not now accepted.

[1] See the paper by Sir Herbert Maxwell referred to in a note to (page 29), and one by the Rev. G. Philip Robertson on 'The Lost Stone of Kirkmadrine,' in *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd ser., vol. v, 1918, p. 136.

[2] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. IX, 1872, p. 568.

[3] *Galloway*, vol. I, County of Wigtown, published by H.M. Stationery Office, 1912, p. 156.

ally scheduled as early as 1872 as Ancient Monuments, were located in 1895 in an open alcove built out at the western end of the Kirkmadrine church or burial chapel, and the three remain there under the care of H.M. Office of Works.

What had happened to stone No. 3 is the following. It remained standing, or more probably lying, in the graveyard when its two fellows were commandeered for gate posts, and when after the Disruption a manse was built for the Free Church minister at Sandhead, a mile or so to the east of Kirkmadrine, it seems to have been carted down as building material. There is a custom in the locality, derived some believe from Ireland but observable elsewhere in northern Britain, to construct gate posts in the form of sturdy little round towers with conical tops, some 6 ft. high by 4 ft. in diameter. To these posts the gate is hung on 'batts'—the Scottish word for staples—driven into holes in the stonework of the posts. In October 1916 the upper batt, attaching the gate to the westernmost of the posts of the gate between the public road and the grounds of the manse, was broken, and to secure a new attachment the minister, the Rev. G. P. Robertson, gave directions for the old stone to be taken out and a new one inserted. Now the old stone into which the batt had originally been fixed was the bottom end of the missing Kirkmadrine monument, that had been built into the gate post in a position at right angles to the axis of the gateway and running straight through the thickness of the structure. It is shown in Pl. 1, 1, reproduced by the kindness of H.M. Office of Works. The gate post in question is the further one in the photograph and the uppermost of the two staples was driven into the butt end of the inscribed stone. The mason employed had great difficulty in extracting this, and when it was finally got out he was faced with a big cavity which had to be filled. To secure material for this he commenced to break up the long stone but happily after one fracture he turned the stone over exposing the inscribed and

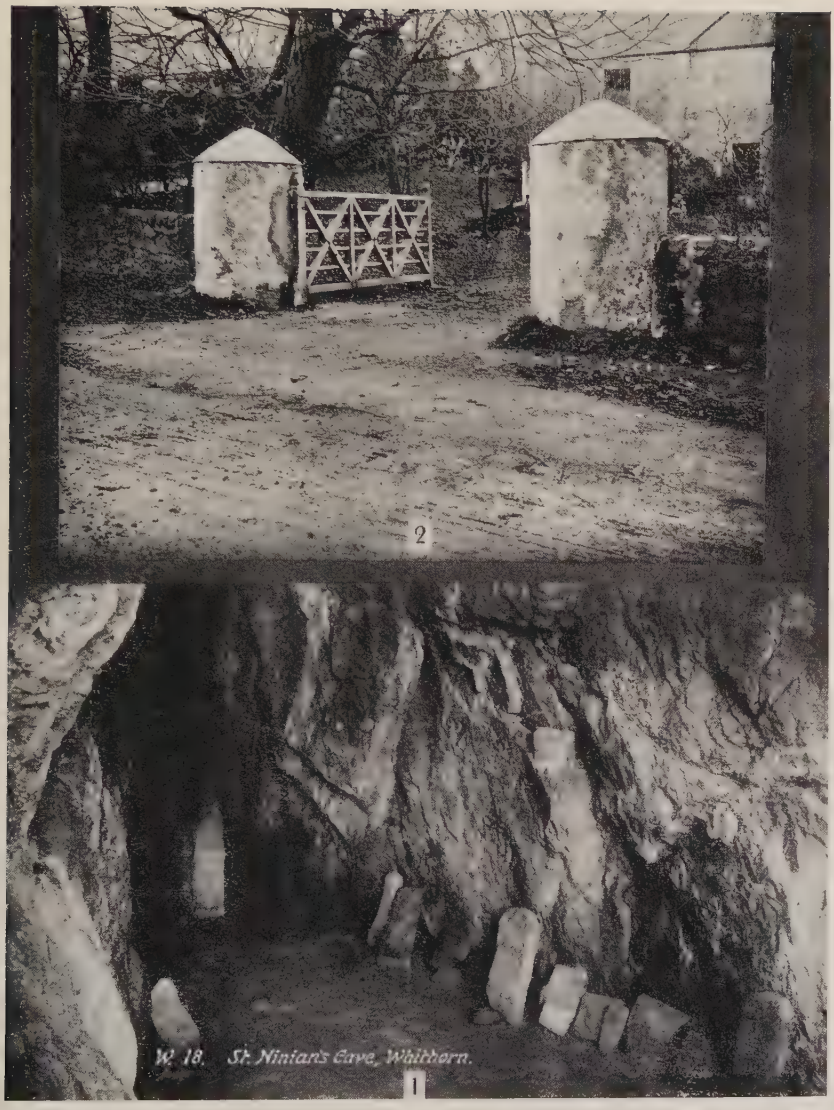

PLATE I

1, ST NINIAN'S CAVE NEAR WHITHORN, GALLOWAY
2, GATEPOSTS AT STONEYKIRK U.F. MANSE, GALLOWAY

1 3 2

PLATE II

THREE INSCRIBED STONES AT KIRKMADRINE, GALLOWAY

figured face. It is probable that an average British mason would have been quite undeterred in his work of destruction by what was then revealed, and would later on have remarked 'there waur summat on it up a' top—letters loike.' The worthy Galwegian however was a man of some education who knew about the lost stone, and he at once reported his discovery, expressing great grief that he had broken the recovered treasure. Mr. Robertson's delight, in which all antiquaries will participate, may be better imagined than described.

The three Kirkmadrine stones are figured on Pl. II, 1, 2, 3. The material is the local bluish-grey whinstone, or Lower Silurian greywacke, the prevailing rock of the district,[1] and there is a good deal of lichen upon them, which injuriously affects the photographs. No. 1 is on the dexter side of Pl. II, No. 2 on the sinister side, while No. 3, the newly recovered stone, is placed for the purpose of the Plate between the two, though it really stands apart. Nos. 1 and 2 are about 7 ft. high, No. 3 is 3 ft. 3 in. The thickness of 1 is about 4 in., of 3 about 9 in. with an increase towards the base, whereas No. 2 is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 in. thick. A portion has however been split away from the back and this renders it uncertain whether the back was in any way worked. There is nothing on the back of 3, but 1 has on the back what is practically a replica of the device at the upper part of the front. The round holes do not go back beyond the gate-post period; that in the middle of the circle on the upper part of 1 has the remains of a rusted iron bolt still in it. On the face of No. 1 there were to be seen at the summit on the dexter side the letters A ET ω, the T being ligatured to the E by using for its head a prolongation of the middle horizontal stroke of the E. A cast of the stone made in 1861 shows this clearly, but more recently a flake has scaled off in this place and the vertical stem of the T with the ω has disappeared. Just below and occupying the full breadth of the head of the stone is an incised circle 14 in. in

[1] See the paper by Sir Herbert Maxwell already referred to.

diameter within which is the so-called 'Chrism'[1] or sacred monogram, on the archaeology of which a word will presently be said. Lower down is a six-line inscription in Latin majuscules, described by Dr. Joseph Anderson as 'normal in form,

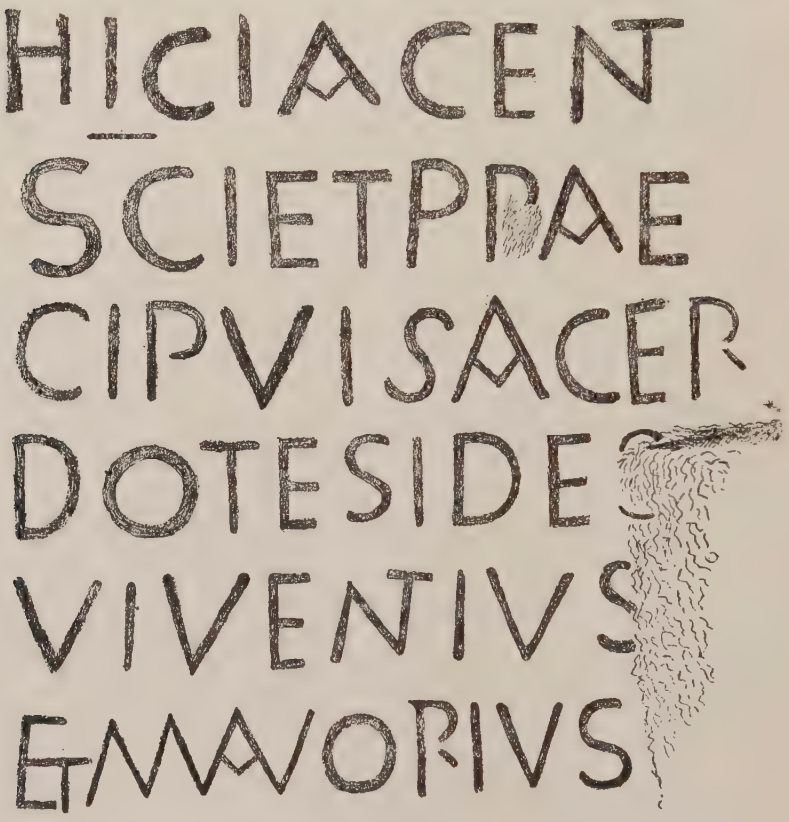

FIG. 1.—Facsimile of Inscription on No. 1 stone at Kirkmadrine, Galloway.

carefully spaced, and clearly cut, but not divided into words.'[2] The same ligature for ET is used, and NT is formed by placing a horizontal stroke upon the top of the second vertical of the N. In the last word the second sloping upright line of the A may be doing duty as the dexter stroke of a V. The

[1] For the word see note, postea (p. 54).

[2] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, XXII, 1897-8, p. 273.

inscription, which can be deciphered with ease, is given in facsimile in Fig. 1 and reads as follows

HIC IACENT
SC̄I ET PRAE
CIPVI SACER
DOTES IDES—
VIVENTIVS
ET MAVORIVS [1]

After S in IDES in the fourth line there is space for one or even two letters, but a flake has come away here from the stone and has even carried away part of this S, while the last two lines appear designedly to stop short of the break. Comment on the inscription is reserved. The fellow stone, No. 2, has a similar chrism, or sacred monogram, within a circle and below it the words

—S ET
FLOREN
TIVS

which some hold should be regarded as a continuation of the inscription on No. 1. On No. 3 there is the same sacred device above the words INITIum ET FINIS, the last two letters of the first word being apparently in minuscules. The characters on 2 and 3 are less regularly cut than those on No. 1, but they cannot be fairly described as debased. The shape of the N on No. 3 should be noted as it is rather of the Hiberno-Saxon form than the classical.

Prior to the discussion of points of antiquarian interest connected with these remarkable monuments the kindred specimens at Whithorn must be described. These are two in number and though their relationship with the Kirkmadrine stones is obvious each has its own special character and points

[1] Or MAIORIVS, taking as I what may be the dexter stroke of a V ligatured to the A.

of interest. The first stone, No. 1, bears only an inscription with no symbolical device. In its present position in the little museum the lighting renders it difficult to photograph, and H.M. Office of Works has kindly given permission for the reproduction of the illustration given Pl. III, 1. The inscription reads

TE D(OM)INV	
LAVDAMV(S)	We praise thee Lord. Latinus
LATINVS	aged 35 years and his daughter
ANNORVM	of 5. Here the descendants of
XXXV ET	Barrovad made the monument
FILIA SVA	(to them).
ANNI V	
IC SINVM	[*'Sinum' is probably a late form of*
FECERV(N)T	*'signum.' 'Nepus' may be used as*
NEPVS	*equivalent to 'nepotes.' See Rhys*
BARROVA	*in The Academy, Sept. 5, 1891,*
DI	*p. 201.*]

The other stone, No. 2, given Pl. IV, 2, used to stand 'on the high ground above the town of Whithorn'[1] by the side of the road leading to the Isle of Whithorn, but is now with other local lapidary treasures in the custody of H.M. Office of Works preserved in the museum close to the ruins of the Priory. It stands about 4 ft. in height with a width of 1 ft. 3 in. and a thickness of about 9 in., and bears on the one side a device and inscription both of the highest interest. The device is a form not elsewhere known of the chrism, in which the ring containing the sacred monogram[2] is supported on an upright stem, while below, very irregularly cut, are Latin letters—OC

[1] Dr. Joseph Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, second ser., Edin., 1881, p. 251.

[2] That the cross formed within the circle by curved lines is the cross of the chrism is shown by the occurrence of a small R at the top of the sinister side of the upper arm of the cross.

PLATE III.—INSCRIBED AND FIGURED STONES

1, At Whithorn (No. 1); 2, at Killnasaggart, Ireland; 3, at Margam, South Wales; 4, at St Just, Cornwall

(LOCUS) S (in an elongated form resembling the Hiberno-Saxon minuscule) TI PETRI APVSTOLI reading 'the place of St Peter the Apostle.' The letters vary in size as well as in character and the strokes are finished with ornamental serifs.

This notice of the Early Christian monuments of Galloway would not be complete without a reference to the site known as St Ninian's cave. This is a natural cleft in the rocky cliff that bounds on the north-west Physgill Glen where it opens on the shore.[1] Not only local tradition but the existence of numerous crosses incised in the rock and on detached stones attest the early sanctity of the place, a partial view of which is by the courtesy of H.M. Office of Works reproduced Pl. 1, 2, where are shown also some of the incised crosses. These are no doubt of very different dates, but the earlier examples may quite well be contemporary with the stones already described and go back to the time if not of Ninian himself yet of his direct successors.

Certain points of historical and antiquarian interest emerge. We may note (1) the form and character of the monuments, (2) the significance of the inscriptions, (3) the archaeology of the so-called Chi-Rho monogram or chrism, (4) the date of the monuments and their position in the ecclesiastical history of the country.

(1) The first question, that of the form and character of the Galloway stones, not only concerns these monuments in themselves but is also related to the much controverted problem of the date of the two great Northumbrian crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle. The latter are large standing stones, artistically shaped and elaborately carved and inscribed, and they make their appearance, so to say, suddenly and full-grown with nothing that seems to lead up to them, so that it is natural

[1] For a full description see the paper entitled 'Notice of the Excavation of St Ninian's Cave,' etc., by Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, Bart., M.P., in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, VII, N.S., 1884-5, p. 82 f., and the Galloway Report of the Scottish Monuments Commission, 1912, I, p. 3.

for some to doubt whether they can be as early as the date, in VII, that is claimed for them. The contemporary Northumbrian monuments known as the 'Hartlepool slabs,' presently to be considered, are entirely different in form and treatment, and have been supposed to represent the style of the time better than the more imposing crosses. It will be necessary therefore to enter upon a somewhat detailed discussion of the early history of the monumental cross and its place in the ecclesiastical and social life of the times. For such a discussion the Galloway monuments furnish an excellent starting point. They are as a group earlier than the Hartlepool slabs which are of the recumbent type, and they show that in this part at least of Britain the ornamented and inscribed erect monument of stone was a matter of quite early tradition. Kirkmadrine and Whithorn indeed commence a series prolific in examples throughout the whole Anglo-Saxon period and help us greatly in assigning an early date to Ruthwell and its fellow masterpiece.

The Galloway stones however, early and primitive-looking as they may be, have behind them their own history, which connects them with monuments of pre-Christian type that carry us far back into the regions of pre-history.

There is a class of Early Christian literary records, preserved and exploited for ecclesiastical purposes and in the interests of edification, that are now seen to possess antiquarian and anthropological interest that is often of an entrancing kind. The reference is to the Lives of early saints, which in the case of the Celtic churches of these islands are extremely numerous and highly charged with this sort of interest. The epoch to which they refer is in the majority of cases VI, though the activity of many of these legendary Christian heroes falls in V and many again belong to the early part of VII. These Lives unfortunately, save in the rarest cases, are only extant in later recensions dating in great part from the Benedictine literary revival of XII. They were written up then in the

spirit of the churchmanship of the time, but from older materials varying of course greatly in value but in the main incorporating genuine early traditions. It is a question for criticism to distinguish what is really archaic from the alterations and additions of later editors, but for this task the modern scholar is now fairly well equipped. In the preface to his edition of the Lives of Irish Saints from the Book of Lismore Dr. Whitley Stokes quotes with approval some sentences from Fustel de Coulanges in which the French savant points out that as a rule the life of each saint was originally written by one of his disciples or a man who had known him, or at least from the testimony of those familiar with him, but that scarcely ever has this primitive redaction come down to us. In the later recensions however there is generally preserved a true picture of the habits and manners of the times. In the miracle stories it is not the wonder-work itself that we care about, but the details of the setting of it which are genuinely archaic. The later editor has certainly not invented everything. From this point of view the *Vitae Sanctorum Hibernorum* recently edited by Mr. Plummer [1] are extremely valuable to the student of ecclesiastical antiquities.

Statements in the re-edited Lives can sometimes be checked by records that are more or less contemporary. Thus, for example, the body of documents known as the *Tripartite Life of St Patrick* [2] represents a comparatively late manipulation of the material, but it can be checked by much more primitive writings contained in, though earlier than, the *Book of Armagh* written in 807. Of exceptional value in this respect is Adamnan's *Life of Columba*,[3] for the writer was born not thirty years later than the death of the saint, and had talked with an old monk who was present when Columba died. More

[1] Oxford, 1910, two vols.

[2] Ed. Whitley Stokes, Rolls Series, 89, Lond., 1887.

[3] *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae*, ed. Canon Fowler, Oxford, 1894.

than once he quotes the statements to him of informants who had heard what they related to Adamnan from companions of Columba, and he himself filled the abbot's chair at Iona and was steeped in the traditions of the place. It is perhaps disappointing to find the *Life* none the less highly charged with the mythical element and with folk lore, but this we must remember is also the case with the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede, and the historical value of the two works is not to the critical reader thereby impaired. The writers of the Lives in their later re-edited form, in which they have been printed in the various collections known to scholars, are constantly telling their readers that they used in their work ancient, perhaps moth-eaten, documents often hard to decipher, and compressed several different accounts of their hero into one. There is a valuable note bearing on this at the end of the XI Life of St David,[1] the patron saint of Wales and one of the most notable figures of the early Celtic church. The writer tells us he is named Ricemarcus and says he collected his material from 'the most ancient writings of the country,' 'which though corroded by the constant devouring of moths and a long series of years have yet escaped' and survive for the most part in St David's own city Menevia.[2] He gathered thence 'a few things out of many' that he found written 'with the old style of the ancients.' This particular Life, it may be mentioned, is disappointingly poor in the antiquarian material of which there is here question, but other Lives similarly compiled are rich in archaic details. One of the very best of all, it is satisfactory to note, is the Life of St Kentigern of Glasgow by Joceline, a XII monk of Furness.[3] There is a

[1] Printed in Rees, *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853, p. 143, English translation, p. 446.

[2] St Davids, of old a place of great resort—in a sense the Rome of the lands of the Celtic church, and now once more of metropolitan rank.

[3] Published with notes and an English translation in *Historians of Scotland*, vol. v, Edin., 1874.

wealth of historical and geographical matter herein contained, and there are some vivid personal touches,[1] that together give to the work almost the character of a contemporary record.

From the present standpoint we have to seek in the records for information of two kinds. One concerns the taking over for Christian use, either *simpliciter* or with the addition of a sacred symbol, of pagan menhirs or rude stones of any kind to which a mystical virtue was attached. In this procedure we may suspect the influence not only of immemorial local traditions but of the Old Testament records.[2] When we read in Cummian's *Vita Columbae*[3] that the saint 'in lecto . . . pro pulvillo habebat lapidem, qui usque hodie juxta sepulcrum ejus, quasi quidam titulus monumenti perdurat' we see in this setting up of Columba's stone pillow in the burial ground a reminiscence of the story of Jacob[4] who exalted as a Beth-el the stone upon which he had rested his head in sleep. Again, St Colman sees, like Jacob, angels descending upon a certain stone and directs that it be carried to the church. It remained in a conspicuous position in the cemetery till the date of the composition of the Life.[5] In the curiously interesting Life of St Declan of Ardmore, perhaps a representative of pre-Patrician Irish Christianity, we are told of something miraculously turned into a stone, 'et ille lapis per omne tempus in cymeterio Sancti Declani in sua civitate Ard Mor in signum virtutis (as witness of the miracle) in excelso loco . . . habetur.'[6] Another stone the saint blessed for the advantage of a certain noble. In Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*[7] there is mention of 'quatuor praegrandes lapides in . . . quatuor

[1] Such as that about the saint binding up his face when suffering in his last illness. *Historians*, l.c., p. 112.

[2] Cf. p. clxviii of the Introduction in vol. 1 of Mr Plummer's *Vitae*.

[3] C. xxi. The work is pre-Adamnan in date, if it be really the older life quoted by name by Adamnan. It is printed in Pinkerton, *Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum*, Lond., 1789.

[4] Gen. xxvii, 18.

[5] Plummer, *Vitae*, 1, 271.

[6] ibid., 11, 56.

[7] Louvain, 1647, p. 156.

sanctorum . . . memoriam erecti.' The stone on which St David was born was afterwards made the foundation of an altar.[1] We are not told, and there is no reason to assume, that any Christian mark was set on these stones. They were taken over in the same spirit in which the Israelites in Palestine invested with new significance the pre-historic menhirs and cairns which they found in fair abundance in Palestine. The pillar stone and the cairn which witnessed to the pact of Laban and Jacob[2] had been on the ground for countless generations.

There is in truth no real break in the use of lithic monuments from the remotest times to our own. Upright stones as memorials, or as serving some deictic or perhaps hortatory purpose, have been in use throughout history. The primitive menhir is perpetuated in the Egyptian obelisk, and is the parent also of the Egyptian inscribed tombstone of the earliest dynasties,[3] of the Greek stele, and of the headstone of our modern cemeteries. The Galloway stones not only represent the primitive menhir tradition, but are really themselves menhirs on a small scale, that is, rude stone monuments scarcely if at all touched by the tool and set up on end to serve as memorials. A Christian mark was however placed on them, and this was the case too with very many of the primitive stone monuments of which we read in the hagiographs. There is a notable instance in the records of St Patrick.[4] 'Thereafter Patrick went to Mag Selce . . . and Patrick wrote three names in that place, on three stones, to wit, JESUS, SOTER, SALVATOR . . . and Patrick's seat is there among the three stones on which he inscribed the letters.' The three stones thus consecrated were undoubtedly three menhirs. A stone

[1] Life by Ricemarcus in Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 121.

[2] Gen. xxxi, 44 f.

[3] Flinders Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, pt. 1. 18th Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1900, p. 26.

[4] *Tripartite Life*, Rolls Series, 89, p. 107.

1 2

PLATE IV

INSCRIBED STONES

1, at Penmachno, North Wales ; 2, at Whithorn (No. 2)

on which St Ciaran of Clonmacnois used to sit, his biographer says, 'usque hodie colitur, posita ibi cruce Christi.'[1] The Galloway stones moreover illustrate another phase of this transition between pagan and Christian. There is little doubt that they were originally placed at the summit of a cairn of stones into which they would be sunk for part of their height.[2] This is not a mere guess, but is supported by the well-known inscription at Penmachno Church in Carnarvonshire, dated according to the accepted view about the end of V, which bears beneath a Christian monogram in debased Roman majuscules the words CARAUSIUS HIC JACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDUM. The stone is shown Pl. IV, 1,[3] and it proves beyond a doubt that Christian stones in or about the period of the Kirkmadrine monuments were actually erected in the middle of cairns.

The monumental use of the cairn may seem to be a subject outside the present field of study, but as the Carausius stone proves this is not the case, and a word here on the cairn in connection with Christian observances may not be out of place. At a time indeed when the different possible forms of the War Memorial are under discussion the subject is quite actual, and a suggestion for the modern use of the inscribed stone planted in a cairn for this purpose is given in Fig. 2, from a drawing by Mr F. C. Mears, architect. No difference of kind need be sought between the cairn of stones and the tumulus of earth, for the material of the mound would depend largely on the natural constitution of the ground on which it was reared. The earliest 'congeries' whether of stones or earth or a mixture of both would be the actual

[1] Plummer, I, 201.

[2] The Rev. G. Philip Robertson in 'The Lost Stone of Kirkmadrine,' ubi supra, remarks, 'They were likely inserted in a cairn. The formula, monogram, and inscription on the first stone do not take up three feet, while it is nearly 7 ft. in height.'

[3] For the Latinity cf. Rhys, *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, 2nd ed., 1879, pp. 203, 369.

FIG. 2.—Suggestion for the use of a Stone of the Kirkmadrine Type as War Memorial.

material displaced by the body when inhumed in the simple and direct fashion which from the first must have been quite common. The mound would next be increased in bulk and weight to hinder access to the corpse on the part of beasts of prey, but before long note would be taken of its significance and value as a memorial and a monument. When this aspect of the sepulchral heap became prominent it rapidly assumed importance in the minds of the survivors, and was developed in early times to a size and sometimes a complexity which made the habitation of the dead far more important than that of the living. It was indeed nearly at the beginning of the history of civilized man that the funeral mound crystallized in Egypt into the form of the Great Pyramid, the grandest structure ever raised by human hands. In later days the scale of the sepulchral monument declined, but one of its forms always remained that of the stone cairn or earthen tumulus, used the one in stoney the other in clayey or chalky districts. These two retained throughout the pagan period their character, not of mere coverings, but of honorific memorials of the dead.[1] As such the cairn might be erected on any site that was a place of actual interment, but its monumental purpose would be best served when it was in a conspicuous situation. This does not mean that the pre-historic cairn builders put their erections habitually on the tops of mountains. There are no doubt ancient cairns so placed, but as a general rule the hill-top cairn is a creation of the Ordnance Survey period, dating back only about a century and a half, and it does not really form a precedent for the War Memorial of to-day, which is ill-placed when perched up upon a height. The fact that the syllable 'cairn' or 'carn' forms in some parts an ingredient in the Celtic names of hills may seem evidence of the antiquity of these erections, but on this philological point information has been kindly imparted by Professor

[1] As regards the earthen tumulus, so familiar in the midland and southern regions of Great Britain, see vol. III, ch. 3.

Watson of Edinburgh University. 'Cairn,' he tells us, in Irish Gaelic means a heap of stones, and burial cairns in Ireland were often placed on the tops of the hills; hence hills with burial cairns on them take their names from the cairns 'the name of the monument gradually extending to the hill.'[1] In Welsh 'carn' originally meant a rock as well as a cairn, and in Wales 'carn' or 'carnedd' is freely used to designate hills. In Scotland 'carn' denotes a rocky hill in several districts north of the Grampians. There are many such hills in Rossshire, and several outliers of Ben Nevis are called 'Carn.' The name occurs too in the Cairngorm region. In Scotland and Wales accordingly 'carn' or 'cairn' in the name of a hill does not imply the existence of an artificial mound of stones.

The stone cairn as well as the tumulus descended to Christian times as an established sepulchral form and they were certainly used at times with Christian significance. We are told of the Welsh saint, St Cadoc, with David and Gildas one of the triumvirate that had such an influence in VI in reconstituting the Church in Ireland,[2] that he made a great mound of earth with a cemetery in it 'where the bodies might be buried near the church.'[3] Of the cairn Adamnan's *Life of Columba* supplies in bk. i. ch. 33 an interesting example. While Columba was on one occasion in Skye an old man in a dying condition was brought to him from a vessel newly arrived. He was a pagan but the saint baptized him just in time. The new convert's companions buried him by the shore 'raising over him a heap of stones.' A Christian cairn burial is recorded in the case of the charioteer of St Patrick, when the saint 'sepelivit illum aurigam . . . et congregavit lapides erga sepulchrum, et dixit "sit sic in aeternum."'[4]

[1] Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, vol. i, p. 305.

[2] Haddon and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, 115 f.

[3] Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 34. 'Vastum acervum de terra,' etc.

[4] *Tripartite Life*, ii, p. 322.

In the Life of St Carthach, who died in 637, the saint performs the not uncommon miracle of removing by a word a fallen tree that lay across his road. The tree, we are told, rose up and stood to the writer's time in its pristine state, with a heap of stones about its roots for a testimony to the miracle.[1] A hand, that had offended, miraculously falls off, and a heap of stones was placed over the lost member as a token of the miracle.[2]

Pagan mounds and cairns had pillar stones set in them and in Ireland the latter might be inscribed in Ogam characters. Instances are given in Wakeman's *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*[3]—(after a battle) 'a mound was dug for each of them and they were put into them. Their tombstones were raised over their graves, and their Ogam names were written there,' and, 'and there is a pillar stone on the carn, and an Ogam is inscribed on the end of the pillar stone.' In Christian hands the pillar stone might, as we have seen, be marked with the cross or take itself the form of an upright cross. There is an interesting stone in South Wales, now in the collection of the Carmarthenshire Archaeological Society, that was apparently at first a pagan pillar stone with an Ogam inscription, but was uprooted and consecrated to Christian service by the incision on it of a simple cross, placed, curiously enough, on the butt end of it where it had been sunk in the earth. The stone is figured later on, Fig. 11 (p. 167), from an engraving kindly furnished by the Council of the Society. In the valuable Life of the early saint, St Declan, after a somewhat trivial miracle ascribed to him, we are told that a heap of stones was collected in that place, with a cross in token of the miracle, 'which is called Ullath, that is, the cairn, of Declan.'[4]

The above is sufficient for the purpose of duly 'placing' the Galloway stones in regard to their form and character. There is no evidence that they began as heathen menhirs and

[1] Plummer, *Vitae*, I, 194.
[2] ibid., I, 258.
[3] Dublin, 1891, p. 81 f.
[4] Plummer, II, 56.

were turned from pagan use to Christian, but they received a form and were employed in associations that carry us back to very primitive times.

(2) As regards the form and content of the inscriptions, and the bearing of these on questions about the character and date of the monuments, the professed epigraphist and the ecclesiologist might have much to offer that lies outside the province of the student of artistic antiquities. Even the professed epigraphist however is necessarily ignorant of the conditions under which these and other early inscriptions were cut, and his data are to this extent uncertain. On this a few general remarks may here be offered. To begin with, we do not know how far the actual cutters of these inscriptions were lettered men. We do know that it was a common practice, at any rate in classical lands, for an inscription to be painted on to the surface of a slab [1] and for the cutter merely to follow the indications thus provided, in which case he need not know how to read or write. The practice here referred to has some interest of an aesthetic kind. 'The lapidary style' in inscriptions is sometimes spoken of, and is predicated of examples like the famous inscription on the Trajan column at Rome, though the style here is really that of the calligraphist as is shown by the variety in the thickness of the strokes and the delicate flourishes such as the tail of the Q. A true lapidary style is evidenced when the cutter reproduces on the stone forms not drawn out for him on the material but handed to him on a tablet or sheet of parchment. There are two possibilities here. (1) The draft of the inscription may have been carefully schemed to the scale of the surface destined to receive it and the size and spacing of the characters exactly adjusted, so that an accurate reproduction is all that was needed. A competent but unlettered carver might conceivably achieve this. Or (2) the wording of the inscrip-

[1] See Professor Sandys's fascinating little volume *Latin Epigraphy*, Cambridge, University Press, 1919, p. 56.

tion may have been furnished to the craftsman merely in the shape of an MS. note, the latter being responsible for the form of the characters and their spacing and alignment. In this case of course the cutter would be a lettered man. Now the monkish craftsman is a familiar institution of the times with which we are dealing, and he would of course know letters, though the lay craftsman would lack that accomplishment. Hence it is quite likely that the inscriptions we have to deal with were the work of educated monkish carvers, though this cannot of course be proved. It would be no doubt of material advantage to us to know the actual *modus operandi* in the case of the various inscriptions with which in this volume we shall have to deal. If they were cut by lettered men, the wording and the forms of the letters would represent the general standard of scholarship and the special forms of character belonging to the time and place in question. If by those ignorant of letters, we might have scholarly language expressed in characters of a very rude form and casual arrangement, copied in a mechanical and unfinished fashion and to the casual eye 'debased.' The word 'debased' implies lateness of date, but it is quite possible that the ignorance or carelessness of a craftman in a comparatively good period may be responsible for ill-formed letters that carry with them the erroneous impression of a general degradation in style applying to the whole epoch. It may be said generally in regard to all the inscriptions noted in this volume that they are all lapidary in style, that is, the strokes are bold and broad, of even thickness, and sometimes emphasized at the ends of the strokes by dots which give decision to the line and are quite in lapidary technique. The runic and the Latin characters on the Ruthwell Cross are, as will be seen, in exactly the same style, but with regard both to their forms and their spacing there are curious varieties which show that several hands were engaged on them, though hands trained in the same school. These varieties, and certain anomalous appearances which will be

noticed in their place, seem to show conclusively that the actual cutter was working with some freedom, not mechanically copying a pattern, and that he was in most cases to a sufficient extent a lettered man.

From this general digression we return to the Galloway inscriptions, and in the light of what has just been said it must be noted that the language in each case is Latin, and some of the lettering is carefully and regularly cut with proper alignment and spacing, while in other cases the characters vary in size and are scattered in picturesque confusion. The letters are not all of the classic type but exhibit in some instances Celtic forms that must have come in from Ireland or Celtic Britain. As a criterion of date, when the inscription is all in Latin characters, the language is of more importance than the manner of cutting, for the former would be the production of some ecclesiastic of position who was supervising the work, while the technical quality of the latter might vary considerably according to the carver employed. The introduction of Celtic forms of lettering is of chronological significance. Ninian, whether or not he had any personal connection with Rome, brought with him at any rate the traditions and forms of the Gallic church where the above style of writing was not in vogue. Celtic forms might easily be imported into Galloway from Ireland, which is only 25 miles away,[1] or might

[1] For the early connection of Whithorn with Ireland, as a place where Irish came for study, see Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, I, 120, and Life of St Ninian, ed. Forbes, in *Historians of Scotland*, v, Edin., 1874, pp. v, xlii, etc. How soon this began we cannot exactly tell. The Lives of some of the Irish saints represent them as studying under Ninian himself. This is e.g. the case with St Enda of Aran, see his Life in Plummer's *Vitae*, II, pp. 62, 68, and I, lxiii, note 3. As Enda died about 650 this is not possible, but he no doubt visited Whithorn, i.e., as the Irish called it, 'Rosnat,' 'Magnum Monasterium,' or 'Alba' (Candida Casa), late in VI, and Mr Plummer thinks that the Irish hagiographer used Ninian's name (in an Irish dress) because it was the only name of an abbot of Whithorn that he knew (*Vitae*, I, lxxxix). In VI the visits of Irish scholars were no doubt frequent, as they were also to Menavia (St David's) in South Wales, and other centres of early British Christianity.

find their way in from the British regions of the mainland, but in any case their introduction would indicate a certain advance in time. The use of Latin minuscules together with the normal capitals conveys the same impression.

Reviewing the stones in this connection we note that Kirkmadrine 1 and 2 have none of these indications of lateness, and Latin words in Roman majuscules fairly well cut and spaced are all that is in evidence. In Whithorn 1 we have an inscription that is quite in classical form and is expressed in Roman majuscules though these are cut and spaced in the most irregular fashion possible. The wording here should probably count for more than the actual lettering. In Kirkmadrine 3 the 'u' and 'm' of 'INITIum' are Celtic or, rather, Hiberno-Saxon, minuscules and the 'n' of 'FINIS' suggests the same connection. Whithorn 2 gives us in the 'S' of 'STI PETRI' an elongated Celtic form of the letter that has some significance.

As regards the ligatures, such as T with E, T with N, A with V or I, or two N's with a central upright serving for both, these occur fairly frequently in Gallic and Spanish inscriptions as well as Roman ones in our own country, as for example in Wales, and they are certainly not a Celtic nor a British peculiarity. Their appearance in Kirkmadrine 1 is no proof of Celtic influence. The TE ligature in its Kirkmadrine form is given once by Hübner,[1] once by George Petrie,[2] and once in Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliae*,[3] but it occurs in another form more commonly, as on Roman stones from Caerleon.[4] The combinations of A with V and A or V with M are quite common in Gallic inscriptions.[5] The Spanish inscription,

[1] *Inscr. Brit. Christ.*, Lond., 1876, No. 6.

[2] *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, Dublin, 1878, II, Pl. XVI, No. 33.

[3] Oxford, 1876-9, Pl. 86, 7.

[4] Westwood, loc. cit., Pl. 97, 1; 98, 6.

[5] e.g., Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, II, Paris, 1865, Nos. 264, 482.

No. 175 in Hübner's *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae* may be referred to for its elaborate ligatures.

Three of the inscriptions are personal memorials and in two cases, probably in all three, the stones bearing them were set up over the graves of the departed. There is nothing on Kirkmadrine 3 to show that it had the same character, for the only words on it are the Latin equivalent of the Greek A and ω which appear on stone No. 1, while in the case of the remaining stone, Whithorn 2, we have an interesting and early example of the use of these monuments as boundary marks. The stone, it will be remembered, used to stand outside the little town though there seems to be no direct evidence that this was its original position. If it stood originally in the old Priory however, it is hardly likely that it was carried away from that site into the country, except for the purpose of being broken up, in which case it would not have been set up on end, and we may reasonably conjecture that it was placed originally somewhere in the fields or beside a road or path to indicate the limits of some ecclesiastical land. It is natural here to refer to a remarkable Irish parallel in the form of an upright stone figured by Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, II, pl. 19 and p. 27, that is inscribed with the words, 'Ternoc son of Ciaran the Little, had dedicated this place under the protection of the Apostle Peter' (Ternoc Mac Ciaran died 716), and also to a Welsh parallel in the form of a cylindrical pillar stone now preserved in the church at Margam, Glamorganshire. This has on it three incised crosses, and athwart one of them is inscribed the word THOME (not seen in the photograph). This vindicates some property for the St. Thomas of a chapel near which the stone once stood.[1] The two stones are figured Nos. 2 and 3 on Pl. III (p. 36).

Who were the persons commemorated on the sepulchral stones cannot be said, but in the case of Kirkmadrine 1 an interesting question was raised by the late Bishop Dowden

[1] *Lapidarium Walliae*, p. 32.

in a paper contributed to the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* in 1898. He sought there to prove that in accordance with the usage of V and VI the word 'sacerdos' was much more likely to mean 'bishop' than 'priest,' and that the epithet 'praecipui' pointed in the same direction. Now in mediaeval usage generally 'sacerdos' means both bishop and priest. Rabanus Maurus writing in the first half of IX makes this clear. 'Presbyterorum ordo,' he says,[1] 'exordium sumpsit a filiis. . . . Aaron, Qui enim sacerdotes in veteri testamento vocabantur, hi sunt qui nunc appellantur presbyteri: et qui tunc princeps sacerdotum, nunc episcopus vocatur,' and again, 'sacerdos autem vocari protest sive episcopus sit sive presbyter.' It may quite well be that in earlier Christian times it may have meant 'episcopus' more often than 'presbyter' but the latter significance was always possible, while though 'praecipuus' is applied sometimes to a bishop it certainly has no technical meaning of an episcopal kind. Hence the inscription must be interpreted on general or historical grounds and it seems much more likely that Viventius and the rest were members, perhaps distinguished, at any rate beloved, of the inferior order. The stone commemorates two or perhaps three deceased (see below) and they probably died somewhere about the same time and in or near the locality where they were interred. To assume that there were several bishops almost exactly contemporary settled not at the ecclesiastical capital Whithorn but away in the other peninsula, would require a considerable stretch of imagination. The bishopric founded by Ninian would be of the Gallic type, a diocesan or territorial bishopric, though one of which a wide-spread missionary activity was a principal function. There is no reason to assume for this ecclesiastical region the specially Irish institution of bishops multiplied in number but lower in ecclesiastical status than was the case in the Romanized west,[2] and only on this supposition could we find anything

[1] *De Inst. Cleric.*, 1, 6 and 5.

[2] Vol. 1, p. 154 f.

episcopal in the names on the Kirkmadrine stone. How many are the names is uncertain for it has been questioned whether the letters IDES merely stand for ID EST, 'that is' or 'to wit,' or belong to a name such as IDESUS, of which the first syllable ID is quite possible as the beginning of a Celtic appellation. This is a question for the professed epigraphist. If it were settled in favour of the latter alternative it would imply that Celtic influence had already made itself felt at the time when Kirkmadrine 1 was carved. This we have seen to be, though possible, on the whole unlikely, and ID EST, if epigraphy allow it, is perhaps to be preferred.

(3) The device which heads the three Kirkmadrine stones and the boundary stone at Whithorn is of special interest in that it is of common occurrence in the Romanized West but has never been found on the Early Christian monuments of Ireland and but seldom in Wales. It is thus the most distinctively Roman feature in this group of inscribed memorials, and as Roman and non-Celtic it points to an early date.

It is curious that there is no proper recognized English term for the device, save the vague one of 'sacred monogram.' It is inaccurate to call it the 'Chi-Rho monogram,' for in the form in which it appears on the Galloway stones there is no appearance in it of a Chi. The name 'Constantinian monogram' is unhistorical for it was known long before Constantine, and to term it the 'Labarum' is a blunder, for this word means the whole Constantinian standard of which the device was only the crowning feature. For reasons explained in the footnote [1] the term 'chrism' is here employed. The chrism,

[1] The mediaeval, or at any rate one mediaeval term for the device was 'Chrismon'—see Ducange, *sub voce*. That gave the French 'Chrisme,' and this stands at the head of Dom Leclercq's article on the subject in the great Benedictine *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, which to a great extent supersedes earlier authorities. Directly from a Greek or Latin neuter nominative comes the form 'Chrisma' which was employed by Dr. Joseph Anderson in his well-known work *Scotland in Early Christian Times*. 'Chrism' seems however a more suitable English form and has been adopted in the text. It may

in this special sense of the word (see note), stands for the name of Christ,[1] and has the form of a monogram containing one or more letters of the words IHΣOUΣ XPIΣTOΣ, but involving also a representation or suggestion of the cross. This close association of the chrism with the cross makes it, as we shall see, appropriate to consider the archaeology of the form in connection with the cross in general, and under this aspect it will subsequently be discussed (p. 85 f.).

(4) Taking account of all that has been said we may add a concluding word on the probable dating of these Galloway monuments. They belong certainly to the Early Christian period, for by VIII the chrism was passing out of use though Charles the Great made efforts to revive it. They are also certainly connected with the missionary station and episcopal see, if this formal terminology be used, established about 400 by Ninian and maintained though under conditions on which we have little information by his successors. No Anglian features appear on them, so we are no doubt justified in placing them before the extension to these regions of the limits of the Northumbrian Kingdom in the second half of VII. The Celtic influence which is apparent as we have seen in some of the forms of the lettering may have come in at almost any time, and we should expect to find evidence of it within a century of Ninian's own death about 430, but we should be safe in assuming that the monuments which exhibit this influ-

of course be objected that this is forcing a new sense on a word to which a fixed meaning is already attached. 'Chrism' or 'Chrisma' is the recognized term for the oil or other liquid used in holy anointing, and this is the meaning given by Littré in France, and by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and Chambers. The mediaeval 'chrismon' however in the sense of the Christian monogrammatic device, and the modern authorities above quoted, justify the desire to substitute 'chrism' for the unsatisfactory terms in common use, and it would be convenient if the word were generally recognized in English writings.

[1] Ducange explains 'Chrismon' as 'nomen Christi abbreviatum ad instar monogrammatis.'

ence are later than those which show only the Romano-Gallic forms that Ninian and his companions would have brought with them from Gaul. The Kirkmadrine stones, being in a colony and not in the original seat of the mission, and enshrining the memory of ecclesiastics some of whom may have died some time previously, are probably substantially later than the actual foundation of Candida Casa. Furthermore one misses in Kirkmadrine 1 the simplicity of a really early time. The epithet 'praecipui,' which has no technical significance, sounds a little fulsome, and Ninian himself and his immediate followers would have been commemorated in a simpler and more dignified fashion. The criteria based on the comparative styles of the Roman lettering, and on the admixture of Celtic with Latin forms, would as we have seen suggest substantial differences among the stones in chronology, but we are warned against exaggerating these differences by the weighty consideration that on the three Kirkmadrine stones the four chrisms are almost exactly the same and wrought with equal care. This is not the place to discuss the particular type of chrism exhibited on the stones, but it may be said in anticipation that it can be chronologically fixed by comparison with Gallic monuments as belonging to late IV, V, and the first half of VI, a period which agrees with our other evidence concerning the stones. It seems reasonable to locate Kirkmadrine 1 and 2, not indeed in the time of Ninian who died before 430 A.D., but in the latter part of that same fifth century. With them should probably be grouped Whithorn 1, for though the cutting of the inscription is of the most irregular kind, the matter of it is very classical in tone and there is a complete absence of Celtic elements in the lettering. These elements begin to make their appearance in Kirkmadrine 3 which might be placed in the early part of VI, while with respect to Whithorn 2, though the Celtic element in the lettering is very slight the form of the cross suggests the latter part of that century or a date somewhere about 600. The remarkable

peculiarity of the device on this stone, in that the cross within the circle is supported on an upright stem, will be referred to on a later page. Its connection with the evolution of the characteristic standing cross of Anglo-Saxon England is of course obvious.

CHAPTER II

EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS IN BRITAIN ASCRIBED TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY: THE HARTLEPOOL TOMBSTONES

About the character and general date of the group of monuments now passed in review no doubt can exist, or at any rate has never been expressed, but, as was noticed at the outset, we cannot proceed for any distance in the study of this subject without meeting with chronological problems both complicated and difficult. These problems however stand directly in the face of any one who attempts to deal systematically with the arts of the Anglo-Saxon period, and it is absolutely necessary to face them and to endeavour to find some definite answer to the questions they present. A detailed discussion will here be in place, for the questions are of a fundamental kind and the whole after treatment of the Anglo-Saxon period up to the Norman Conquest must depend upon the solutions we find for them.

As was explained in the Introduction, the chief object of the present volume is to bring together the principal monuments of Anglo-Saxon art which are generally assigned in date to VII. The first in order are the stones of the so-called 'Hartlepool group' consisting in small slabs, marked with a cross, inscribed, and at times ornamented, that were placed in a recumbent position upon or within a grave, where, in the latter case, they may have formed supports or pillows under the head of the corpse. They may claim precedence owing to their connection as sepulchral monuments with the Galloway stones. They differ in that there is only a trace in them

of the pre-historic or pagan associations which attach to those menhir-like monuments. Indeed for pagan examples of the funeral slab in a recumbent form, covering as well as marking a grave, we might seek far in vain. They differ too from the Scottish series in possessing affinity not with Romano-Christian work but with Early Christian monuments in Ireland, so that in form and character many would be inclined to call them Irish. They belong however to the Anglo-Saxon series and bear on them Anglian names in the Teutonic runic characters as well as in Latin.

We are informed by Bede [1] that the royally born and devoted Hild, two years after she had embraced the religious life, was made abbess in the monastery called Heruteu (or, as a correction in one of the MSS. gives it, Heortesig) explained by Bede as 'insula cervi,' [2] and undoubtedly Hartlepool. The settlement had been founded not long before by the pious handmaid of Christ Heiu, who was said to be the first woman in the province of Northumbria to take upon her the vows and habit of a nun. This foundation would be about 640 A.D. Exactly where the settlement was placed we are not told, and there was no consistent local tradition as to its situation at the time when, in 1816, Sir Cuthbert Sharpe, F.S.A., published his *History of Hartlepool*.[3] The Map reproduced on Pl. v from this work [4] shows the peninsula on which Hartlepool stands at a time when the modern growth of the town had not yet

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 23. [2] ibid., iii, 24.

[3] Republished, with a *Supplemental History to* 1851 from the pen of the publisher, by John Proctor, Hartlepool, in the year just noted. The copy kindly lent to the present writer by a Hartlepool friend had bound up with it at the end the *Notes* by Father Haigh referred to postea (p. 63).

[4] The writer is indebted for permission to make use of the Map to the kindness of Mr. F. W. Mason, publisher, Hartlepool, who succeeded to the rights of Mr. Proctor. Some names have been written into the map as now reproduced, while others have been erased. The situation of the cemetery, as determined by local inquiries which have kindly been made, is shown by the cross and the letters CEM. at the bottom of the map.

begun. This followed on the inception of an extensive scheme for the improvement of the docks, for which an Act was obtained in 1832. Provision had to be made for a large influx of workmen, and ground for new houses was broken up in the part known as Wells's Field to the south-east of the church. Here in the month of July 1833 there was made a discovery of much archaeological interest.[1] The workmen broke in upon an ancient burying ground in which, we are told, the bodies had evidently been disposed with no little care. With the bones there came to light a number of shaped stones some of which were plain while on others there were ornamental crosses and inscriptions. Most unfortunately no supervision was exercised by the local authorities. No plans or drawings were made nor were accurate descriptions drawn up showing the relative positions of the objects brought to light. The bones, we are told, were 'carefully removed . . . and deposited in the churchyard,' though without proper osteological examination, but the other objects in the graves were dispersed, and either appropriated on the spot or sold to strangers. In view of certain archaeological questions which might easily have been solved at the moment of discovery but must always now remain uncertain, it will be well to quote here, verbatim, portions of the original notices of the find. The more important statements are printed in italics, and the passages are lettered for convenience of reference.

In the *Durham Advertiser* of July 12, 1833, appeared the following communication, (a), 'Within the last few days a great number of human skulls and other remains of mortality have been discovered in a field adjoining Hartlepool Moor, by the men employed there in digging the foundations for a house. The bones in some instances remained in a great degree united, though no perfect skeleton was found. *The heads of the deceased seemed to have been all placed, when interred, either on or against a square or oblong flagstone, ornamented with*

[1] *Supplemental History*, p. 25.

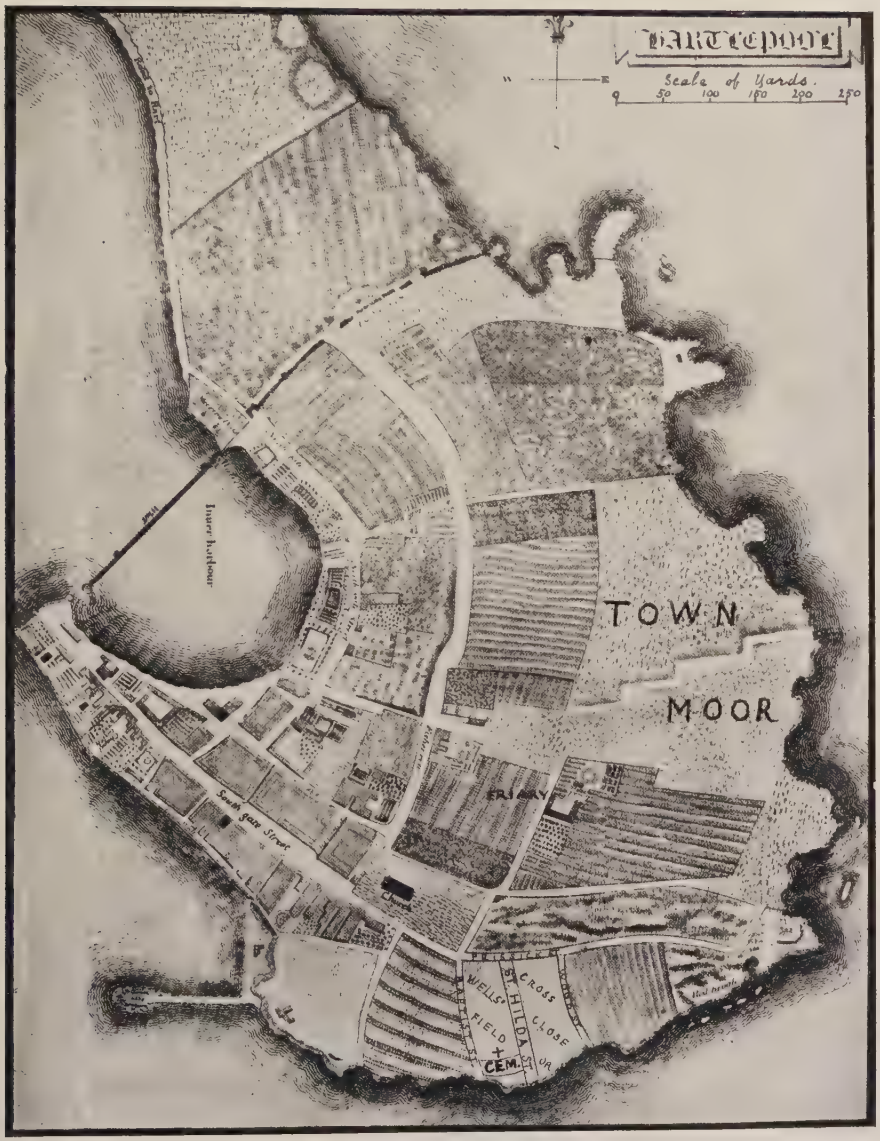

PLATE V

MAP OF OLD HARTLEPOOL

some device, and apparently bearing an inscription in Saxon or other characters. It is conjectured that the field in which these interesting remains have been discovered had at some distant period been used as a burial ground to the ancient Friary which is near the spot.' The Friary, marked on the Map, to the north of Wells's Field, was a Franciscan house founded in XIII. A further notice on July 26, (a[1]), mentions that *the bodies lay north and south*, and on August 2 the same journal published an article on the stones, inscriptions, etc., that was ascribed to the pen of the historian of St Cuthbert, the antiquary James Raine.

In September of this same year 1833 a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 219, claiming to give a 'correct account,' says (b), 'In the month of July last, in digging the foundations of a house belonging to Mr John Bulmer, *in a field called Cross Close*, at a distance of about 135 yards from the present churchyard, in a south-easterly direction, at the depth of three feet and a half, and immediately on the limestone, the workmen discovered several skeletons *lying in a position nearly north and south. . . . A large number of the skulls were resting on small flat plain stones, varying from 4 to 5 inches square, and under a few were discovered stones bearing inscriptions, and marked with the cross.* . . . By the discovery of so many skeletons lying in nearly the same position, it may fairly be presumed that the burial place of the monastery has been disturbed. . . . For my part, I am strongly inclined to consider them' (the skeletons) '*principally of the feminine gender.*' The antiquary John Gage communicated a notice of the find to vol. xxv of *Archaeologia*, published in 1834, and states with regard to the inscribed and figured stones, (c), '*upon each of them rested the skull of a human skeleton which lay extended in a direction nearly north and south*; a long brass pin or brooch with an oblong head, was the only other thing found, as a relic of the dead.' He records too the statement of an eyewitness that 'the heads lay upon the stones, as upon pillows.'

A few years later, in 1838, fresh finds of the same kind came to light and in the *Gateshead Observer* of Oct. 20 in that year we read, (d) ' A stone was found on Monday last at Hartlepool by some workmen while digging a cellar in the South Terrace. . . . Last week the same men had found several human bones, *each skeleton having a flat stone beneath the head.* . . . Several stones were found about four or five years ago, within a few yards of the same place. . . . The burial place in which these stones have been found, appears, as far as can be ascertained, to have been *not more than* 15 *or* 20 *yards long*, and *the bodies placed in two lengths only, north and south*, the stones about a foot and a half from the surface.' The *Gentleman's Magazine* of Nov. 1838, p. 536, refers to the above article and states (e) ' *under each skull was a flat stone, as during the former excavations.*' Again in Feb. 1844 the *Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 187, writes of still later discoveries, (f), ' *Underneath this stone* (No. 8 of the series, see postea, p. 67) was *a skeleton with the head resting on a small square stone* ; and shortly after, another skeleton was taken up very perfect. *It was lying with the head towards the west*, and it appeared to be that of a female. *Underneath the head was another small stone, measuring* $5\frac{3}{4}$ *inches square ; but neither of these pillow stones had any inscription.* Shortly after two more skeletons were taken up. They must have belonged to very tall men, as the thigh bones of both of them measured $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches. They were lying one over the other.'

Soon after this, in 1845, appeared the first formal illustrated account of the find, in the shape of a paper by Father Daniel Haigh in the first volume of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association.* After mentioning ' Cross Close ' and its position he continues, (g), ' There, at the depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the surface, and immediately on the limestone rock, several skeletons, *apparently of females*, were found in two rows, in a position nearly north and south. Their heads were resting on small flat stones as upon pillows, and *above them* there were

others of a larger size, marked with crosses and inscriptions in Saxon and Runic letters. *Most of these were dispersed immediately after the discovery; a few only, with some fragments, became available to antiquarian research.* . . . Some bone pins were the only other relics found on this occasion. But no systematic researches were made, either then or since.' . . .

Haigh was an authority on ancient Hartlepool, on which he published two papers besides the above. In the first,[1] (h), p. 17, he writes of 'several skeletons, *both male and female*, apparently of a tall race, and remarkable for the thickness of the forepart of their skulls . . . *over them* were other stones,' etc. In the second paper,[2] published in 1875, he repeats what is quoted above, with the difference that he now adds, (i), 'it is said that stones marked with crosses and inscribed *were placed under some of them*; but this I cannot believe; indeed, the very nature of the inscriptions contradicts it.' Finally there may be quoted the notice of the find in the *Supplemental History*, of 1851, p. 25, (j), 'The skeletons were laid in order, side by side, *the head apparently to the north*; and under each head was placed a small stone, worked with some degree of care, to a uniform shape, about seven or eight inches square, some bearing characters which were evidently northern, or Runic, as many supposed.'

A comparison of the various accounts which have now been quoted shows that there is some difficulty in knowing the relation between the plain and figured stones, and in determining exactly what position these memorial slabs occupied in connection with the burials. Were they really as they are commonly termed 'pillow stones,' on which the heads of the deceased were actually laid, or did they stand or lie over or beside the interred bodies and not actually under their heads?

[1] *Notes on the History of S. Begu and S. Hild*, Hartlepool, J. Proctor, 185–.

[2] 'The Monasteries of S. Heiu and S. Hild,' in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. III, 1875.

This question cannot be discussed until the stones have been fully described.

Haigh numbers the stones 1 to 8 and it is best to follow his enumeration. Nos. 1 to 5, with an extra stone of a different type that may be numbered 0, are the outcome of the original discovery of 1833, but they were apparently only the survivors of a much larger number of stones enriched or plain, of which Haigh writes in passage (g). No. 6 was found in 1838, and 7 and 8 in 1843. Of these nine stones Nos. 0 and 1 are now missing, 2 and 4 are in the Black Gate Museum at Newcastle, 3, 5, 7 and 8 in the British Museum, and No. 6 in the Durham

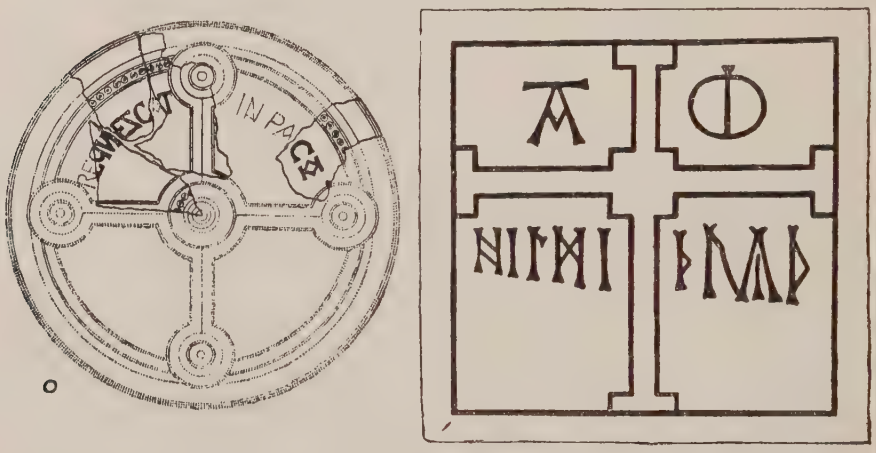

Fig. 3.—Two lost Hartlepool Stones, Nos. 0 and 1.

Cathedral Library. No. 0, given from Haigh's engraving in Fig. 3, 0, was of circular form marked with an equal-armed cross with the arms ending in circles, and an inscription REQUIESCAT IN PACE 'very beautifully executed.' The diameter was about 13 inches. No. 1 was a square slab measuring rather less than a foot on each side. A cross was incised upon it with A and ω on the two sides of the upper arm and running irregularly across the lower half of the stone a woman's name HILDITHRYTH inscribed in runic characters. This lost piece is given from Haigh's engraving in

PLATE VI.--SEVEN 'PILL

ONES' FROM HARTLEPOOL

Fig. 3, 1. Nos. 2 to 8 are still in existence and Pl. VI shows them together in a series of photographs all to the same scale. As reproduced on the Plate they are about one-third the natural size.

No. 2, at Newcastle, measures 8½ by 6¾ in. and is 1⅜ in. thick. The edges and back are dressed quite smooth but not in any way ornamented. Across the lower part is written in runes the female name HILDDIGYTH. The G was left out by the cutter and has been added above, a dot showing where it was to be inserted.

No. 3, in the British Museum, is 7½ by 5½ in. with a thickness from 1⅜ to 1½ in. The back is dressed smooth but in places it has been scored into and damaged. The name, that of a male, in Hiberno-Saxon characters is EDILUINI.

No. 4, at Newcastle, has a height of 8¾ in. and a breadth of 6⅜ in., with a thickness above of 2¼ in. and below of 2⅜ in. It is smooth on the back and sides but not so neatly dressed or even as is No. 2. The inscription, in three lines, asks for prayers for two persons, one male and one female, ORA PRO UERMIND 7 TORHTSUID. These three slabs have upon them, within borders, crosses of the same form, but in 2 the cross is incised, in 3 and 4 in relief.

No. 5, in the national collection, has the surface a good deal abraded; it is neatly squared and finished, the back quite smooth and dressed as if for show. The dimensions are 8½ in. by 6⅞ in., with a thickness of 1½ in. The cross here is of remarkable form with steps in the place of the curves at the centre and the ends of the arms. The inscription, in five lines, is the longest of all and asks for prayers on behalf of the three persons mentioned on Nos. 3 and 4, ORATE PRO EDILUINI ORATE PRO UERMUND ET TORHTSUID. The letters here and on 3 and 4 are a mixture of majuscules and minuscules in form, partly Roman partly Hiberno-Saxon.

No. 6, found in 1838 and now in Durham Cathedral Library, is the largest and best-preserved specimen of all.

It is very truly cut, measuring in height from 11¼ in. to 11⅝ in. by a breadth of 10 in. to 10¼ in., the thickness varying from 2¾ in. to 3 in. Carefully squared it is dressed smooth on back and edges. Two square sinkings in the back look modern as if intended to facilitate the mounting of the piece for exhibition. The cross is incised in the same technique as the inscription, which gives the name BERCHTGYD in Hiberno-Saxon minuscules. Above, on each side of the upper arm of the cross, are the letters A ω which also appeared upon the lost stone No. 1 (Fig. 3). The ω takes a curious form due to the carver mixing up the capital and the minuscule Omega with some reminiscence of the Omicron. It is evidently by the upright stroke an Omega, for this stroke is the central one of the minuscule form of that letter. The incised lines are sharply cut to the depth of about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. as by a knife scoring a V-shaped groove in wood, and there is not the smallest sign of weathering so that the work might have been cut yesterday. The vertical and horizontal lines scratched on the face as a guide for the incised lines marking the cross are visible even in the small photograph, and so is the little depression in the centre where one point of the dividers was placed. The material is an easily worked but a very compact and even-grained magnesian limestone closely resembling that of the turned baluster shafts from Monkwearmouth, specimens of which are in the Durham Cathedral Library. These Monkwearmouth shafts, four of which are still *in situ* in the church porch wonderfully preserved, show that the stone was an excellent one for resisting the ravages of time. The writer is kindly informed by Mr S. F. Sainty of Hartlepool, who as a hydraulic engineer is familiar with the local geological formations, that the magnesian limestone of the place has just the same qualities as the material of the small slabs, being in some places very hard and in others so soft as to yield to the finger nail. This last is the case with the stone of Nos. 5 and 8.

Nos. 7 and 8 came to light in 1843, and are both in the

PLATE VII

THREE 'PILLOW STONES' FROM LINDISFARNE

British Museum. No. 7 is 9 in. high by $7\frac{3}{4}$ by 2 in. The back is dressed fairly smooth but is not finished for show. It is not very well preserved and the name, in Hiberno-Saxon characters with a use of ligatures which occur also on Nos. 4 and 5 but not on the other stones of the series, has been read HANEGNEVB.

No. 8 differs from the rest in the ornate character of the cross, but of the inscription, in minuscules, only the last letters –UGUID can be read. It measures in height 11 in., in breadth $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. below and 9 in. above, and is the thickest of all—from $4\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. The back is roughly hewn by axe strokes. The material is a quite soft limestone.

The Hartlepool slabs are not the only ones of their kind that have been found in the North. Three others, closely resembling them but with one striking difference, have come to light between 1888 and 1915 at Lindisfarne in or near the Abbey Church, but evidently in no case in their original position. They are shown on Pl. VII all on the same scale and one-third the natural size, just as is the case with the Hartlepool examples on Pl. VI. They are numbered here Lindisfarne 9, 10, 11, and were figured and described by Mr C. R. Peers in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2 ser., XXVII, 1915, p. 132. No. 9 was found in 1888 in the burial ground attached to the parish church a little way from the Priory, but no bones were discovered with it; it was published in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2 ser., XII, p. 412. The material is like that of the other Lindisfarne specimens a hard sandstone, and the surface is considerably abraded, so that in the present position of the piece under glass and built into the wall of the church porch it is not easy to make out what is on it. The dimensions are $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $6\frac{3}{4}$ in., with a thickness of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. The back is rough. Earlier photographs however show that it had incised upon it a cross with complete rounds at the ends of the arms and a male name that appears to be AEDBERECHT. Nos. 10 and 11 made their appearance in

1915 in the course of excavations carried on by H.M. Office of Works in the nave of the Priory church. No bones were found near them and they are supposed not to have been *in situ*. No. 10 is comparatively well preserved though in parts broken. It measures in height 8½ in. with a width of 6½ in. below tapering to 5¼ in. where the curve of the head begins. It is 2 in. thick and the back, like those of Nos. 9 and 11, is rough. The form of the cross resembles what we find on most of the Hartlepool slabs, but the inscription is of special interest in that it is biliteral, the name OSGYTH being written above in

Fig. 4.—Three Lindisfarne Stones.

runes and below in Hiberno-Saxon characters. Osgyth being a female name may be taken as evidence that at Lindisfarne, as on other early monastic sites in the North, there was a double community of men and women. A peculiarity is the circular depression at the intersection of the arms.

No. 11 differs from all the others in the two series save Hartlepool No. 8 in the presence of ornament in the form of plait work filling the rounds at the intersection of the arms and at their terminations. The slab has unfortunately been broken. It is about 6 in. wide, and is rough at the back. There are remains of an inscription. In view of the damaged condition of stones 9 and 11 there is given here, by the kindness of the Society of Antiquaries, a reproduction, Fig. 4, of the

PLATE VIII.—INSCRIBED STONES

1, Birtley, North Tyne; 2, Billingham, Durham; 3, Wensley, North Riding of Yorkshire; 4, Monkwearmouth

engravings illustrating the article in the *Proceedings* just re-referred to.

The peculiarity of the rounded head, in which the Lindisfarne slabs differ from those found at Hartlepool, seems to have no direct bearing on the question whether or not the stones were supports for the skulls of the deceased, but in another connection it is important as proving in each case the local character of the work. The Hartlepool stones are cut in the local magnesian limestone and are all rectangular. (The stone Hartlepool 0 is exceptional.) At Lindisfarne the material is the local sandstone and all the pieces have rounded heads, and moreover the edges of the face are rounded off and not left square as at Hartlepool. The Lindisfarne stones not being found *in situ* are no help in the discussion of the question of the original disposition of the slabs.

Apart from these two series one or two isolated examples with the same general character have been found in the North. The two shown, Pl. VIII, 1, 2, are called ' pillow stones ' from their obvious resemblance to the examples before noted. They are about the same size, nearly square, and marked with crosses and inscriptions. No. 1 was found built up in a wall at Birtley Church in North Tynedale, and is attached now to the south-west wall in the chancel. It measures $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., and bears a cross with rectangular terminations to the arms sunk about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. into the stone. Above are the letters O R with what looks like a horizontal line over the O, and, below, P E, the latter of curved form. ORA PRO E(dmundo), or some proper name beginning with E, is the probable sense of the letters. No. 2 is from Billingham, Co. Durham, not far from Hartlepool, and is in the national collection. It had a cross with A ω and an inscription in beautiful Hiberno-Saxon characters round the border of the panel. ORATE PRO is legible on the fragment of the slab, which originally measured about 14 in. by 10 in. No. 3 on Pl. VIII is of a somewhat different character. It is in the church at Wensley

in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and shows a cross with expanding arms and the indication below of a stem. The spaces enclosed by the arms of the cross are filled with the forms of birds and dragons, and below is the inscription in raised letters of the Hiberno-Saxon form DONFRID. Beside it in the church is the middle portion of a similar stone with the name EADBEREHCT. The Donfrid stone is quite distinct from those of the Hartlepool-Lindisfarne series, as it is larger and of a different shape, measuring 15½ in. by 9 in. and suggesting the oblong form of the ordinary recumbent tombstone shaped so as to correspond with the proportions of the grave it was intended to cover. It is not long enough for such a purpose but looks more like such a tombstone than a 'pillow stone.' As a final item in the series may be taken the well-known monument that came to light in the porch under the tower at Monkwearmouth (Vol. II, p. 140 f.) and is now preserved there in the vestry. The stone, shown Pl. VIII, No. 4, is evidently early work perhaps going back, as Bishop G. F. Browne suggested,[1] to a period near that of the foundation of the monastery. The lettering, Roman with some Hiberno-Saxon characteristics, is very good; the cross somewhat of the Birtley form. The inscription reads HIC IN SEPULCRO REQUIESCIT CORPORE and then in letters rather less well executed HEREBERECHT PR̄B. The stone in its present condition is about 3 ft. 6 in. long, and may have been used to cover a grave though not large enough to do this completely. We arrive here however at the form of the recumbent tombstone of mediaeval and later times, and the interesting monument may fittingly conclude this enumeration.[2]

[1] *Notes on the Remains of the Original Church of St Peter, Monkwearmouth, and on some of the Sculptured Stones found in the Restoration*, no place nor date.

[2] An apparently early stone of the 'Hartlepool' class, noticed by Father Haigh in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. III, p. 365, has not yet been seen by the writer. It will be noticed in a subsequent volume.

CHAPTER III

THE HARTLEPOOL TOMBSTONES, AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CELTIC AND TEUTONIC ART IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD

THERE REMAIN the two questions, (1) of the original disposition of the slabs, (2) of the date of the interments and of the slabs. The first is of some antiquarian interest but little depends on it, whereas the answer we give to the second question involves important considerations affecting our whole view of art in the British Isles during the Early Christian and early mediaeval periods.

The reader who has perused the passages quoted (pp. 60-63) will have noted that the position of the skulls is given in (a) as '*either on or against*,' in (b) (c) (i) as *above*, and in (f) (g) (h) as *underneath* the inscribed and figured stones, while accounts (b) (d) (e) (f) (g) agree that the heads rested on small plain flat stones as upon pillows. None of these last, unfortunately, has been preserved. The use of such pillow stones is inherited from the funeral arrangements of Anglo-Saxon pagandom,[1] and Bede expressly mentions an instance of its survival in the burial of Sebbi, King of the East Saxons, who was laid in a stone sarcophagus with a pillow stone (cervical) under his head.[2] The pillow stone is thus a pagan trait, and may be taken with another pagan peculiarity in the burials, their orientation.[1] The *Durham Advertiser* of July 26, 1833, stated distinctly (a) that in the first find all the skeletons lay north and south, and the same is said in (d). The exceptional interment with head to the west found in 1844, (f), is specially noted. Passage (j)

[1] *Arts in Early England*, vol. III, p. 155 f. [2] *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 11.

states that in the north and south interments the head was to the north instead of, as one would expect, to the south. On this, as upon the pagan character of north and south orientation, see the discussions contained in Vol. III, Chapter III. What has just been said is of course in favour of an early date for the burials.

Returning to the inscribed stones, we have first to inquire whether their original position was above ground like ordinary tombstones or with the bodies in the graves. They were certainly recumbent slabs, for there is no tenon or prolongation at the bottom edge by which they could have been fixed in an upright position. The slabs might conceivably have been laid *above* the graves, just sunk in the ground to a depth corresponding with their thickness, and have found their way down in the course of the ages to the level of the actual interment. The condition of them however, and their location when found, really preclude this possibility. The slabs are on the whole in very good, in one case, No. 6, almost perfect preservation, although they are of comparatively soft magnesian limestone and would have been scored or broken had they been trodden on or knocked about. Furthermore, they were evidently all found face upwards and in every case so near to a skull that this seemed to be on, against, or under the slab. This would not have been the case if they had found their way casually into the graves, but they would have come to light in a fragmentary condition and disposed irregularly at different levels and in all kinds of positions among the bones. Haigh[1] suggests that the stones with inscribed names were put beside the bodies to serve as identification discs in case at any after time there were a question of the translation of the remains. The practice is observable elsewhere, for de Rossi[2] notices certain cases of stone tablets inscribed with the name of a defunct that were found *inside* closed sarcophagi. The stones inscribed with a petition for prayer for the defunct

[1] *Notes*, p. 23.

[2] *Rom. Soït.*, I, 95, 96; III, 406.

present of course a difficulty, for this petition was addressed to the living, and it would seem senseless to bury underground the stone which bore it. This objection may however be countered if we reflect that in those times the grave was in a sense an inhabited place, not one merely for the decent disposal of waste products. Tomb furniture bears witness to this vague belief, and the deceased may have been equipped with an appeal for prayers in the same spirit in which the corpse was furnished with the arms and ornaments carried and worn in life. Exactly how the inscribed stones were placed will probably always remain uncertain, and the present writer believes that they were not under but beside or beyond the heads. The general impression among the bystanders at the excavation may well have been that plain pillow stones and inscribed stones were all alike, and were all intended for the heads of the bodies to rest upon them. As a fact the skulls may have been *on* the plain stones but *against* the figured ones, though the distinction was not at the time fully realized.

A more important question is that of the date of the stones. The first idea, an obviously absurd one, was that the graveyard belonged to the Friary of XIII, the second that it was to be referred to the early monastic settlement of VII, and this has remained the prevailing opinion up to the present time. The orientation of the graves and their equipment with pillow stones are early symptoms, and the early Anglian character of the names [1] with the fact that they are partly in runes produces the same impression. The fact that both male and female names occur is of great significance, for the primitive monastery is known to have been of the double type.[2]

As regards the palaeography of the inscriptions, the writing was noticed by Sir Hercules Read as excellent [3] and it is also of

[1] Haigh remarks in his *Notes*, p. 24, on the similarity of the names to those found in Bede and in the Bonifacian Epistles.

[2] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, IV, 23, with Mr. Plummer's note.

[3] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXVII, 1914-15, p. 133.

early character. If the graveyard were, as is always assumed, a monastic one, the date of the interments cannot in any case be later than 800 A.D. We have no information about the settlement after the period of the rule of Hild,[1] who left Heruteu for Whitby in 657, but there is an entry in the *Flores Historiarum* of Roger of Wendover, which runs :—'Anno Domini DCCC⁰. Exercitus paganorum nefandissimus ecclesias de Hercenes et de Tinemutha crudeliter spoliavit et cum spoliis ad naves recurrit,' and this Danish raid no doubt put an end to the establishment. There is no record of any re-foundation. It is true that the antiquary Lambarde, in his *Alphabetical Description of the Chief Places in England and Wales*, published in 1730, prints on his p. 145 the following entry :—'HEORTNESSE. A Towne in the North Partes, which Ecgred, byshop of the holy Ile, buylded, and gave to the Sea (see) for ever together with another called Wycliffe, somewhat before Eardulf fled the Ile,' and this has been taken as evidence that Hartlepool, and presumably with it the monastery, was restored by the Lindisfarne bishop about the middle of IX, thus rendering possible a later date for the little cemetery. Lambarde has however misread his authority, Symeon of Durham, who in a passage celebrating the benefactions of Ecgred to his see, states 'duas quoque villas Ilecliff & Wigeclif sed et Billingham in Heorternesse, quarum ipse conditor fuerat, locis superioribus quæ prædicto Confessori (St Cuthbert) donaverat perpetuo possidenda adjicit.' 'Heorternesse' here means the district where Billingham, a few miles inland, is situated, not Hartlepool itself, and the passage contains not a shadow of evidence for a IX restoration of Heruteu. In any case the year 875 closed the record entirely, for in that year the monkish community abandoned Lindisfarne, and monastic life in all that region, so open to the Viking attacks, practically came to an end.

[1] The notice in Bede's *Life of Cuthbert*, referred to *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXVII, 1914-15, p. 132, does not apply to Heruteu, but to Hild's first monastery between the mouths of the Wear and Tyne, perhaps at South Shields.

If the suggestion be offered that the graveyard may not have been monastic at all but secular, and may therefore have been of any date, the answer is ready to the hand. As a fact we know really nothing about the primitive history of graveyards attached to secular churches, and how early there can have existed such a graveyard in this district it is impossible to say. One thing is however quite certain. The district cemetery would not have been at Hartlepool, for St Hilda's church at Hartlepool has not been, till quite recently, an independent parish church but only a chapel dependent on the mother church of Hart some miles inland. As explained Vol. I, p. 318 f., the burial ground and the burial fees appertained to the mother church, and a dependent chapel would not have the right of interment. Hence even if Hartlepool church had been built as early as IX or X it would not have had a graveyard.

On the whole the evidence for the monastic character and early date of the Hartlepool cemetery seems fairly conclusive, and some surprise may be felt that this chronological question has been so closely examined. The truth is however that there exists a piece of evidence which is *prima facie* of considerable weight and which, if established, would relegate the Hartlepool burials to a period at least two centuries later than the provisional date now arrived at.

That there is a resemblance between the Hartlepool stones and slabs of a similar type in Ireland has already been noted. The latter are found in abundance at Clonmacnois, Monasterboice, and other early ecclesiastical sites, and George Petrie's two volumes entitled *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*[1] contain numerous examples, a selection from which will be found Pl. IX, 1. Petrie's classical work must however be used in connection with the recent study by Professor R. A. Stewart Macalister, F.S.A., *The Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois*, published at Dublin in 1909 by the Royal Society

[1] Edited by Miss Margaret Stokes, Dublin, 1872-8.

of Antiquaries of Ireland, which corrects Petrie in many details and adds a good many fresh examples. On Pl. IX the drawings reproduced from Petrie are corrected in details from the outlines in Prof. Macalister's work, and reproductions of several of the latter have been added to the illustration. It must be noted that Petrie's volumes will always retain their worth, for he described and figured many stones, some of outstanding value, that are now lost. Indeed, Prof. Macalister says, p. vii, 'when Dr Petrie visited Clonmacnois in 1822, he must have found nearly twice as many slabs as I was able to discover.'

A glance at Pl. IX, 1, will show that the Irish slabs resemble the Northumbrian ones in the use and in some of the forms of the cross, and in the style of the inscriptions, the formula OR DO or OR AR or OROIT AR corresponding to the Northumbrian OR or ORATE PRO, in each case followed by a name or names. There are at the same time marked differences in that the Irish slabs are much larger than those from Hartlepool and are of very irregular outlines. That the fractures which are the cause of this irregularity were not all made after the stones were inscribed is shown by the fact that the inscriptions are sometimes seen to conform to the broken contours, proving that the stones were not squared before they were worked. This rough treatment of the edges, compared with the accurate shaping and finish of the Hartlepool and Lindisfarne examples, constitutes a very marked difference. Another may be found in the fact that whereas the Irish stones are only incised the Northumbrian carvers worked at times in relief, e.g., Pl. VI, Nos. 3, 4, 5. Again, while the majority were intended, like the Anglian stones, to occupy a recumbent position, some were evidently designed to stand erect. There is no suggestion in the case of the Irish slabs that they were pillow stones, or were interred with the bodies in the grave. Like the early Hereberecht tombstone from Monkwearmouth, Pl. VIII, 4, they were meant to be placed over or at the head of

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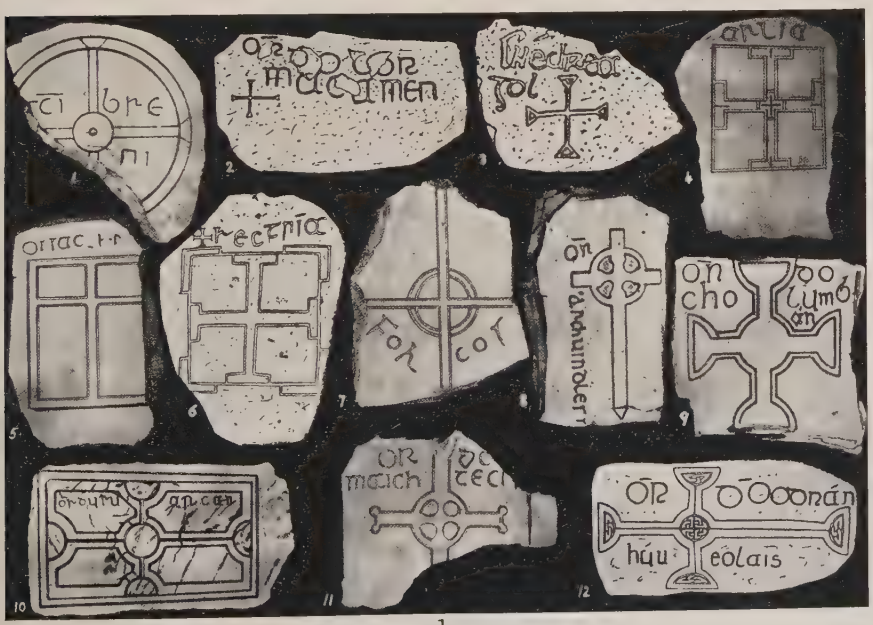

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PLATE IX

1, IRISH INSCRIBED SLABS AT CLONMACNOIS, ETC.

2, VIEW OF CLONMACNOIS

the graves so as to keep before the eyes of the living the names of the departed.

In face of these marked differences it may be questioned whether a reference to Ireland is really called for, and this opens up the general subject of the relations in Early Christian times between the ecclesiastical forms and the art of Celtic Ireland and those of our own country. On this a word or two may be said.

When the Hartlepool stones are called 'Irish' in type there is a tacit assumption that there were in the sister island examples of the same kind of work but of earlier origin. A justification for this assumption may be found in the following considerations.

Ireland received Christianity at an early date and the Celtic church in the island developed in freedom on its own independent lines, though in touch with the British churches in Wales and Strathclyde, till Irish ecclesiastics in VI and VII were famed all over western Christendom for their learning and sanctity.[1] They sent missionaries to the Continent and they attracted students and votaries of the ascetic life to their own monastic cells. Reference has already been made (Vol. I, p. 211) to the stream of Saxon students setting to Ireland in the latter part of VII to drink in learning at the fountain-head, and there is a letter of Aldhelm in which he is inclined to reproach his correspondent, one Eafrid, for having spent as much as six years in Erin 'uber sophiæ sugens.' He there uses an expression signifying that Ireland enjoyed at the time a sort of tacitly recognized precedence in these matters of learning and religion.[2] Now there are obvious reasons why we should recognize for Ireland a somewhat similar precedence

[1] See, amongst other works, H. Zimmer, *The Irish Element in Mediaeval Culture*, translated by J. L. Edmands, New York and London, 1891.

[2] 'Cur, inquam, Hibernia, quo catervatim istinc lectores classibus advecti confluunt, ineffabili quodam privilegio efferatur.'—*S. Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Giles, Oxonii, 1844, p. 94.

in matters of construction and art, at least in comparison with the northern parts of Britain. It is true of course that the Romanized West offered a repertory of models still more abundant and varied, but Northumbria in VII was in touch with Ireland far more intimately than with the Romanized West. Ireland possessed a tradition of stone construction and of decoration going back to pagan times, and Irish Christians in matters of technique and ornamental forms continued this tradition with the addition of fresh motives introduced from Romanized lands in the wake of the new religious movement. Hence the assumption is fairly justified that the Christianized Irish Celts built oratories and cells in traditional methods of construction, and ornamented the simple apparatus of ecclesiastical ritual, from the very first days of the conversion of the land. The earlier examples in these styles of work may all have perished and what remains may be of comparatively advanced date, but this need not necessarily point to a hiatus in the practice of the arts in Ireland during the first Christian centuries, when the new interest in life would on the contrary furnish to that practice a natural stimulus.

As bearing on the assumption of Irish prototypes for the Northumbrian slabs, it must be noted that the Irish works are infinitely more numerous. Prof. Macalister catalogued more than 200 examples now at Clonmacnois, and believed that Petrie saw double that number in 1822. Clonmacnois was founded in 547 A.D. and soon became a hallowed place where burial was sought, so that the cemetery, which has continued in use till modern times, is crowded with monuments of different dates and kinds. The view, Pl. IX, 2, gives some general idea of the site, which overlooks the Shannon, and is furnished forth with the oratories, round towers, carved crosses, and the like, that mark the Irish monastic settlement. That there were inscribed memorials of the dead already in the cemetery in the latter part of VI and in VII does not admit of any reasonable doubt, and they may safely be assumed

to have been of the same general type as the earliest datable ones now on the spot. One of the poems in the Irish language about the burials at Clonmacnois printed in the first volume of Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions* supplies incidental evidence of this. The verse runs

> 'Nobles of the children of Conn
> Are under the flaggy, brown-sloped cemetery;
> A knot, or a craebh, over each body,
> And a fair, just, Ogham name,'

and implies that inscriptions in the Ogham character were in evidence in the cemetery at the time the poem was written, and these would be presumably of comparatively early date. Now at present Prof. Macalister could only find at Clonmacnois one example of the use of the Ogham script, and this looks as if a good many early slabs had perished.

There is accordingly some *à priori* justification for connecting the Hartlepool slabs with Ireland and in assuming that they had their prototypes in that country. The next point is to ascertain what light is thrown on the Northumbrian monuments and their date by a comparison with the Irish examples. Prof. Macalister arranged the Clonmacnois slabs in groups according to a chronological scheme based on considerations of morphology. First would come those with an inscription alone, as this is the essential part of the memorial. The introduction of a cross may be reckoned a later addition, and slabs on which the cross is small and just an adjunct to the name and prayer formula would be early. Later on the cross increases in size and becomes more prominent than the inscription. It is often enclosed in a square or circular panel. The cross itself, at first simple, becomes more elaborate in its form, and finally ornament of less or greater complexity is added to or connected with it. The hypothetical chronology thus indicated can be tested by a certain amount of direct evidence derived from the names upon the stones. It needs

hardly to be said that great caution is here necessary, for rash inferences have too often been drawn from the casual occurrence on a slab of a name that is historically known as connected in early times with the site of the graveyard. Many of these names are quite common ones, and it does not follow that the Colman or Cormac commemorated on a monument is some particular personage of the name of whom we have an early record. Some further identification is needed and this in some

1 2

Fig. 5.—1. Tombstone of Suibine McMailae Humai, about 890 A.D.
2. Tombstone dated about 950. Both at Clonmacnois.

cases is secured when the name of the father of the personage is also given. The most conspicuous example is that of a slab, figured by Petrie but now lost, that is given Fig. 5, 1. It is inscribed SUIBINE Mc MAILAE HUMAI, and is without doubt the tombstone of Suibhne, son of Mael-Umha, 'anchorite and scribe of Clonmacnois, the most learned Irishman of his day,' who died about 890 A.D. There are other examples in which the identification is not quite so certain, but about which there is no very strong element of doubt, while others again only justify a reasonable hypothesis. The

last chapter in Prof. Macalister's study, 'Historical Contents of the Inscriptions,' is taken here as a guide.

Taking the examples on Pl. IX (p. 76), No. 1 was found by Petrie at Tempul Brecain in the island of Aran Mor. It seems to have on it the name SCI BRECANI,[1] but there is no evidence of its date. It is useful for comparison with No. 0 in the Hartlepool series, Fig. 3 (p. 64). No. 2 is from Macalister (No. 22, Petrie's No. 49). It bears a small cross patty as an adjunct to the inscription OR DO CORMAC AMEN, and Macalister, who reckons it early, writes, 'It is just conceivable that this may commemorate Abbot Cormac I, 757 A.D.'[2] The name is however a common one. On the other hand the name on No. 3, Snedreaghail, accompanied by a similar cross though of Greek not Latin form, is so rare that it 'is found but once in the Annals, as the name of an Abbot of Clonmacnois who died in 781,'[3] and it is a very plausible hypothesis that we have here an identification. Nos. 2 and 3 are on the Macalister chronological scheme of early type. No. 4, from Petrie's 27 corrected from Macalister's 41, gives us an instance of the cross inscribed in a rectangular panel, after the Hartlepool fashion. No. 5 has a simpler cross of the Latin form in a panel, and No. 6 is a variation on No. 4, with the name RECTNIA preceded by a small initial cross, which it must be noticed is a very rare feature on these Irish slabs,[4] while in Anglo-Saxon religious inscriptions it is so common as to be almost universal. Prof. Macalister is disposed to equate the Rectnia of this slab with an abbot of that name who died in 779 and remarks, 'the name is uncommon, and the style of art and the lettering seem to favour an early date.'[5] The next slab, Petrie's No. 5 now lost, with the name FORCOS

[1] For the sake of clearness the inscriptions on the stones are given in the text in Roman letters, though the actual lettering is in great part in Irish minuscules.

[2] Macalister, p. 103.

[3] ibid., l.c.

[4] ibid., p. 8.

[5] ibid., p. 103.

gives us a circle surrounding the intersection of the limbs of a plain cross. The same circle, in a form that will at once be recognized as 'Celtic,' appears in Nos. 8 and 11. The name on No. 8, CUINDLESS, a rare one, makes the Irish scholar think naturally of Cuindles who died abbot of Clonmacnois in 720, but the identification is by no means certain. The Greek cross on No. 9 has the central circle and the semicircles at the four ends of the limbs which is the commonest form of the device on the Hartlepool stones, occurring on Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 10 (Lindisfarne). We have seen it already on the undated stone No. 1 Pl. IX, 1, and it appears on a large number of Irish examples of which our Nos. 10, Petrie's 77 at Monasterboice, and 12, Macalister 145 Petrie 131, are specimens. No. 12 bears the inscription $\overline{\text{OR}}$ $\overline{\text{DO}}$ ODRÁN HÁU EOLAIS, and Odrán hua Eolais was a scribe of Clonmacnois who died in 994.[1] Here there seems no doubt as to the identification. We obtain therefore at Clonmacnois two certain examples of this form of cross, so common at Hartlepool and Lindisfarne, one at each extremity of X, while one almost certain, a tombstone that may be dated about 950,[2] is shown Fig. 5, 2. The unidentified examples of the same type figured by Prof. Macalister and called by him 'perhaps, the most characteristic form of the Clonmacnois crosses,'[3] number over fifty. In point of style and ornamental details they correspond closely to the 'Suibine' and 'Odrán' stones, thus seeming to establish this particular device as belonging in Ireland to X, a couple of centuries later than the epoch to which on historical grounds the Northumbrian slabs have been ascribed. Clonmacnois evidence points to the arrangement of the cross in a panel as an earlier indication, and we have seen that Pl. IX, 1, No. 6, is very likely the tombstone of an abbot who died in 779. Prof. Macalister locates the type in VIII. His earliest date, though only a hypothetical one, is about 720 for the 'Cuindless' slab No. 8. This bears an upright Latin

[1] Macalister, p. 97. [2] ibid., p. 99. [3] ibid., p. 25.

cross of Celtic form with a spike below for fixing it into the ground, a form of the cross not represented in the Northumbrian series.

On the whole it appears that Irish evidence is against the provisional date which has been accepted above for the stones of the Hartlepool group, and if the use of the cross with semicircular terminations be taken as a criterion these stones would be two centuries later than English antiquaries have supposed. The earliest datable example at Clonmacnois is Suibine's of about 890, and if the Irish stones be really the prototypes the Anglian imitations should belong at the earliest to X. We are met here however by the difficulty that the date 875 closes the period at which the Hartlepool and Lindisfarne stones are historically possible (p. 74), and this makes it needful to reconsider the whole position. Every one must agree that though this particular form of the cross was in fashion in Ireland in X it may have been used elsewhere at a much earlier date. The form itself requires analysis, and an attempt must be made (1) to fix its place from the typological point of view in the series of ornamental cross forms as they appear in Early Christian and early mediaeval days in Christendom at large, and (2) to argue out from typological and historical data its probable chronology.

A word of caution is here needful. The expression just used 'ornamental cross forms' must be taken strictly, and 'ornamental' must be distinguished from 'monumental' cross forms. The former class embraces (1) cross forms drawn, incised, or worked in low relief, and used as part of the decoration of some larger object, when the scale will as a rule be quite small, save perhaps in the case of a cross the central feature of an extensive mosaic; and (2) crosses executed in the round, but also quite on a small scale, as in the case of crosses worn on the person, which are commonly of precious metal and dainty in execution. From these must be carefully separated the monumental cross carried out on a large scale in materials

such as stone or wood and displayed in all the three dimensions of a solid. The difference is that in the former case the designer is quite free to give the object any form and detail that suits his fancy or that seems to be a natural development from a previous type. No material considerations need affect his scheme. In the latter case considerations of material and technique may be of the utmost importance, and certain forms or details may be practically impossible to carry out on the monumental scale, while others are almost forced upon the craftsman by the conditions of his task. A study of monumental cross forms will follow later on in its place (p. 149 f.); for the moment it is only the decorative cross form that it is proposed to examine.

The results that follow from such an examination are somewhat surprising, and they may here be briefly indicated.

1. The particular form of cross under discussion, with the rounds at centre and ends of arms, though it occurs so frequently in Ireland is not in its origin Celtic but Teutonic, and occurs in Germanic tomb furniture in Britain and on the Continent centuries before it makes its appearance in Hibernian art. It can be traced back in the North to pagan times.

2. In the case of British and continental examples of the form, the circle at the intersection of the arms of the cross is not a shrunken form of the large wheel of the 'Celtic' cross head as is suggested by Professor Macalister for the Irish examples, but its use or rather its development is connected with a decorative treatment of that important part of the cross where the arms meet in the centre. In the case of crosses of a certain kind, formed of precious metal, and borne on the person or employed for sacramental purposes, it was customary for this point of intersection to be utilized for the enshrinement of a relic, often a minute portion of the wood of the true cross, the receptacle being covered by a medallion. It would be quite natural for this covering medallion, at first

of modest proportions, to increase in size and importance, till it extended beyond the general outline of the cross at the intersection, and we have here a plausible explanation of the ultimate appearance of a comparatively large circle embracing the central portion of the cross. Evidence for this will be adduced in the sequel. The fact that the extended parts in the centre and at the ends of the arms take sometimes a square, rectangular, or stepped form, instead of one based on the circle, is probably due merely to decorative taste showing itself in a feeling for variety. There are sepulchral slabs in North-umbria of about the same date as those at Hartlepool that show crosses with rectangular centres and terminals. The early Hereberecht tombstone at Monkwearmouth is an example, Pl. VIII, 4 (p. 69).

3. In regard to the ornamental handling of the cross form in general, it is noteworthy that in Teutonic and Celtic art there is considerable variety in the treatment and an abundant play of fancy that contrast with the comparative monotony and dulness of similar work in classical lands. The cross forms on the Clonmacnois slabs are numerous and tastefully devised, but so also are those that occur in Germanic work that dates of course from a much earlier, even as we shall see from a pagan, period, and this Germanic work undoubtedly influenced Irish forms. On the other hand a decorative treatment of the cross did not, it seems, appeal to the artistic sense of the classical peoples, including the Italians, the Byzantines, the Gallo- and Hispano-Roman populations of France and Spain, and the early Christians of Syria, Asia Minor, North Africa, and Egypt. In the art of all these peoples and regions little or no tendency shows itself towards a fanciful treatment of the form of the cross, while its ornamental em-bellishment takes the shape of jewelling the interior without affecting the outline. The simple form of the cross patty,[1]

[1] The older heraldic term is 'cross pattée,' and the adjective is connected with the French 'patte' or paw, the reference being to the broadening out at

Fig. 6 a, with the ends of the arms broadened out and sometimes bifurcated (b) or tri-lobed (c), seems as a rule to have satisfied all requirements, and these forms occur over and over again in Early Christian art, as in the catacombs; on Syrian door lintels, Coptic tombstones, and sarcophagi from or in Asia Minor, Rome, Ravenna, Arles; in mosaics in Italy and the Byzantine empire, manuscripts of the classical schools, Coptic textiles, and Alexandrine ivories, as well as in connection with other products of Mediterranean provenance. In these classical lands the early history of the cross form and of its embellishment is somewhat as follows.

Taking first the form, it must be noted that the cross in

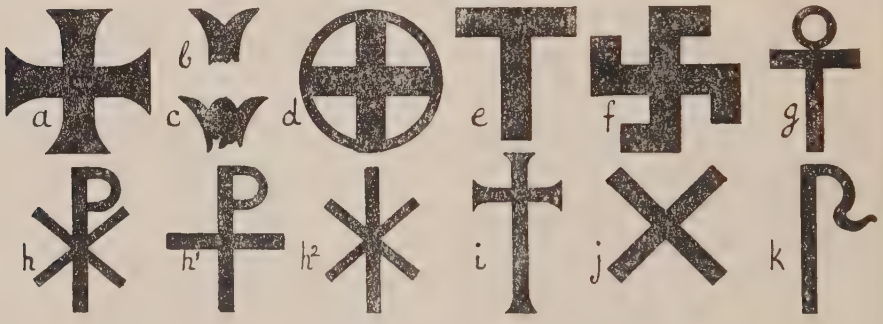

Fig. 6.—Various forms of Crosses in Classical Art.

various shapes is pre-Christian and was used by the pagan craftsman ornamentally as well as, at times, with religious significance. The simple four-armed cross, fitting into a circle (d), is an obvious motive of geometrical ornament, and may occur in pagan work, while in Christian times it is not necessarily always of religious intent. The same is true of the T form of the cross (e), while on the other hand the swastika or *crux gammata* (f, an equal-armed cross with the ends of the limbs turned back in the form of the Greek majuscule gamma) and the ancient Egyptian symbol of a T cross with a circle

the pad or claw of the leg of an animal like the fox or the cat. In Fig. 6 various forms of crosses are given and are referred to in the text by the letters of the alphabet by which each is marked.

above it (g), were employed with mystical significance in ancient oriental religions. Pre-Christian also was that form of the cross associated with the sacred monogram (h, h^1, h^2) which is of special interest to northern antiquaries from its occurrence on the early inscribed stones at Kirkmadrine and Whithorn in Galloway. It is sometimes called the XP (Chi-Rho) monogram, because in some forms of it it consists in these two initial letters of the Greek name of Christ, but the best term for it, as we have seen, is 'chrism.' The combination of the Greek letters X and P, to which others might be joined, was a fairly common form of monogram before Christianity came into the world, and it occurs, for example, on ancient coins, as an abbreviated form of the Greek word ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ, giving only the first three letters in the device ☧. Naturally, again, the X or St Andrew's cross (j) is not specially Christian, as it is a motive ready to the hand of the ornamentalist, and is a letter of the Greek and Roman alphabets, as well as a Roman numeral.

An examination of the Christian use of these various forms of the cross yields the following results.

The T shaped cross is apparently the first used with Christian significance. It was the form of the Roman instrument of capital punishment, or 'patibulum,' and is known as the Tau cross, or *crux commissa*. It is to a cross of this kind that the figure with the ass's head is affixed in the famous burlesque drawing of the crucifixion found on the Palatine at Rome, one of the earliest known representations of the subject. Whether or not it was adopted by the Christians on account of its being the instrument of the Passion, this shape of the cross was that used by the early Christians for signing themselves,[1] and is in all probability referred to in

[1] This 'signing' must not be interpreted as a sort of brand or visible mark, but as effected merely by the gesture, as in the familiar modern act of crossing oneself. The sign was apparently made by the finger, not the whole hand, at any rate in the earlier times.

the passage in the Book of Revelation which speaks of the sealing of the servants of God on their foreheads. Proof of the above is afforded by passages in Early Christian literature, of which one may be quoted. In the *Stromateis*, Book vi, Chapter 11, Clement of Alexandria writes as follows :—'they say that the fashion of the sign of the Lord is according to the shape of the numeral three hundred,'[1] that is, a Tau or T. In catacomb inscriptions the T cross occurs early, and Wilpert dates examples such as that shown Fig. 7, 1[2] as early as II. Of the same date also occur examples of the four-armed cross of which Fig. 7, 2[3] shows a specimen, and the

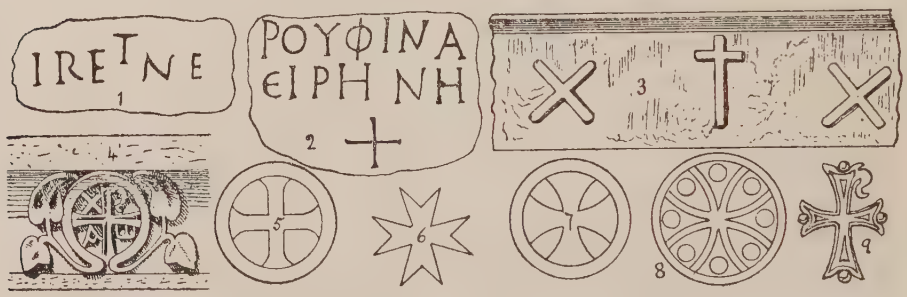

Fig. 7.—Decorative treatment of the Cross Form in Classical Art.

origin of this form as used by Christians is not quite clear. It may have been adopted as an improvement in the ornamental sense on the T form, or deduced from the supposed form of the cross of Christ. If the ordinary instrument were T shaped, there must have been in this case some extension upwards of the vertical limb in order to support the tablet with the inscription over the head, and this would give the shape of the four-armed cross, or *crux immissa*. This was apparently always at first an equal-armed cross, but at a comparatively early date—in one instance in the catacombs in

[1] *φασὶν οὖν εἶναι τοῦ μὲν κυριακοῦ σημείου τύπον, κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τριακοσιοστὸν στοχεῖον.*

[2] De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, II, Pl. XLII, 14.

[3] ibid., I, Pl. XVIII, 1.

III [1]—there is found the elongation of the vertical or supporting limb which gives a cross of the so-called 'Latin' form, Fig. 6, i. Here again the form may have had a decorative origin, fitting better into certain spaces than the equal-armed cross, or have been motived historically. The words of Christ 'If I be lifted up,' and the necessity in the case of three crosses that the centre one should have a certain prominence, would naturally operate in favour of a lengthening of the supporting limb. As soon as the custom of carrying the cross as an attribute came into vogue as an artistic convention the form became the 'Latin' one. At first perhaps the real cross was an equal-armed one, and was fixed on the top of a staff to make it portable, but later on the mark of the junction disappears and the staff is just the supporting limb of the cross. For example, the cross held by John in the scene of the Baptism in the Baptistry at Ravenna, of about 450 A.D., is a jewelled cross patty with equal arms attached to a long staff, while in the rather earlier mosaic of Christ as the Good Shepherd in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia there is no break between cross and shaft. The long staff is sometimes a pointed stake, as in a figure on the early ciborium columns at St Mark's, Venice.[2] There are innumerable examples of portable crosses of this latter form carried by figures on Early Christian sarcophagi, and a general reference to the plates in Garrucci's *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*, vol. v, is sufficient. De Vogué [3] signalizes an example of IV at Chaqqa in Syria as very early. It is shown Fig. 7, 3, as flanked by two St Andrew's crosses, and these crosses with undoubtedly Christian signifi-

[1] *Nuovo Bullet. di Archeol. Crist.*, 1902, p. 6. It needs hardly to be said that there is no archaeological justification in connection with Early Christian times for the terms 'Greek cross' and 'Latin cross,' any more than there is for the supposed 'eastern' and 'western' gestures in the act of benediction. The terms are however convenient and generally understood, and may be retained.

[2] Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, Milano, 1901, etc., Vol. I, p. 281.

[3] *Syrie Centrale, Architecture*, etc., Paris, 1865 etc., I, Pl. 10.

cance occur still earlier in a Palmyrene inscription of 134 A.D.[1] The St Andrew's cross, Fig. 6, j, is called 'crux decussata' from 'decussis' 'ten,' with allusion to the Roman numeral X.

This employment of the X form as a cross leads on to the question of the chrism or Christian monogram which we have just seen to possess a pre-Christian history. Monograms and similar devices were greatly in vogue in late Roman and primitive Christian times, and some one, apparently early in III, lighted on the discovery that this device contained constituent elements of the name of Christ. It appears at any rate in catacomb inscriptions that almost certainly date from this period, while a dated consular inscription of the year 269 A.D.[2] clearly exhibits it. Later on, especially after Constantine's victory over Maxentius followed by the Edict of Milan, it became exceedingly popular. Constantine had the device figured on the shields of the soldiers he led to the victory at the Milvian Bridge,[3] and a few years afterwards, in 325, he placed it as the crowning feature upon his official standard, the so-called Labarum. Innumerable Christian monuments in almost all parts of the Roman empire testify to the general use of the motive in the centuries immediately succeeding the Peace of the Church.

The sacred monogram appears in different forms, Fig. 6, h, h[1], h[2]. It must be understood that the device was at first merely a monogram—an abbreviated mode of writing the sacred name—not a religious symbol. One of the earliest forms in which it occurs is in an inscription on the first area of the cemetery of S. Callisto which runs AUGURINE IN DOM ET ☧,[4] meaning 'in God the Father and in Jesus Christ.' Another catacomb inscription runs BICTORINA IN PACE

[1] De Vogué, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions*, etc., Paris, 1868, p. 55.

[2] De Rossi, *Inscript. Christ. Urbis Romae*, Romae, 1861, I, p. 16, No. 10.

[3] We may see it so displayed on the shields of Justinian's body-guards in the well-known mosaic at Ravenna.

[4] De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.*, II, Pl. XXXIX-XL, 30. The date is the first half of III.

ET IN ☧,[1] and Le Blant gives one found at Toulouse in the form VIVAS IN ☧.[2] As a monogram the device took two shapes. I combined with X as above, (h[2]), stood for Ἰησοῦς Χριστός; P with X in the more familiar form (h) for Χριστός alone. There was however a third form of the device (h[1]) in which an upright cross, or the letter T recognized as we have seen as a form of the cross, surmounted by the P, took the place of the Greek X.[3] This stood for Christ as well as did the other forms, and it is in this shape, it may be noticed, that the device appears on the Kirkmadrine stones in Galloway. Its use there may serve to give an approximate date to the stones, for on Gallic monuments it occurs from the end of IV to the middle of VI. The Christian monogram occurs on Merovingian coins, figured in the work of M. Prou,[4] from the middle of VI through VII, in the forms with the X and with the Tau cross. Gallic evidence would therefore favour a V, or early VI, date for the Galloway chrism.

The part of the monogram that stood for the Greek Rho needs a word. The majuscule Rho in Greek is of course P, whereas the corresponding letter in the Latin alphabet is R, and P stands for a different character. Hence it would be quite natural for unlettered stone carvers in the Latin-speaking countries to substitute the Roman for the Greek form of the character R. As a fact however, the substitution seems to have taken place in the East rather than the West. At any rate, among the stone houses of about V discovered and figured by de Vogué in his *Syrie Centrale* the chrism with the supposed

[1] Perret, *Les Catacombes de Rome*, v, Pl. xxii, 35.

[2] *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, No. 607.

[3] 'Il y eut une autre forme de chrisme composé de la lettre T surmonté de P, ce qui donna ☧, et bien que n'offrant pas les éléments du mot Χριστός, ce monogramme fit bon service avec les autres et eut la même signification. Impossible d'établir une chronologie rigoureuse entre ces trois types.' Dom. Leclercq in *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét.*, Paris, 1907 f., art. 'Chrisme,' III, col. 1486.

[4] *Les Monnaies Mérovingiennes*, Paris, 1892, p. lxxxv, etc.

Latinized form of the Rho is much in evidence, as in the example given Fig. 7, 4. The ℙ with open loop, Fig. 6, k, occurs also on many Byzantine buildings, notably on the Golden Gate of Constantinople and on the Column of Arcadius in that city.[1] It is found too on many Coptic tombstones, as for example in the elegant form, Fig. 7, 9, from a slab in the British Museum, of VII or VIII. The evidence indeed seems to show that the modification was first made among Greek-speaking peoples who would not be likely to confuse the Greek and Latin signs for R. Hence it must be concluded that in these oriental instances what looks like a Latin R is only an ornamental open form of the Greek ℙ. This detail of the device may have been carried from the East to Gaul and to North Italy where it is common, while it appears very seldom at Rome and in the south of the peninsula. In Gaul it is found as early as the end of IV, when it surmounts an interesting sepulchral inscription[2] of a lady baptized by St Martin of Tours, and it is especially in vogue in VI. Here in the West, as in Galloway, it would of course be interpreted as an R not a fanciful form of ℙ.

It must be borne in mind that in no form of it does the chrism appear on any monuments or works of art in Ireland, while in Wales, as Westwood remarks, it is 'of very unusual occurrence.' The most important Welsh example is that already figured Pl. IV, 1, an early sepulchral stone inscribed with the name of one Carausius. At St Just in western Cornwall there is an Early Christian tombstone of great antiquity in which the chrism occurs in an interesting form. The stone is figured Pl. III, 4 (p. 36).

The chrism, as we have seen, was at first a mere abbreviation with a purely literary significance, but later on became a sacred symbol which stood alone or surmounted or was introduced into an inscription with which it had no grammatical

[1] Strzygowski, in *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, VIII, 1893, p. 234.

[2] Le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, Paris, 1856, II, Pl. 50.

connection. In this form it was brought into vogue through its use by Constantine, and it must be noted that it was all along regarded as a form of the cross, for Eusebius expressly tells us that what Constantine saw in the sky was a cross, though the device in which the vision materialized took the shape of the chrism, and in later art we find sometimes the chrism used instead of the more normal cross to mark the cruciferous nimbus.[1]

The Constantinian exaltation of the device led to its display with artistic setting and embellishment, and the after consequences of this for monumental art in Great Britain were of great importance. According to Eusebius the banner of Constantine was surmounted by the XP form of the monogram enclosed in a golden crown studded with precious stones, and a laurel crown or a simple or enriched circle round the device, embracing and setting it off, as on the Syrian lintel, Fig. 7, 4, and on the Galloway stones, became so common as to be almost universal, and the monogram or the simple cross thus surrounded makes its appearance on innumerable Christian monuments subsequent to the Peace of the Church. There is no question that this is the origin of the familiar wheel of the Celtic cross head. It is called 'Celtic,' or sometimes 'Irish,' because it is of very common use in the case of crosses in Ireland, but it is of course an importation from classical lands. Into the chronology of it, or the geographical route by which it reached the shores of Erin, no special inquiry seems ever to have been made. It is quite probable that the route was not a direct one, and that like other elements in Irish Christianity it was transmitted through Wales. Interesting archaeological questions are in this connection opened up, and the distinction already noticed between the decorative and the monumental cross forms comes into view. It is easy to see that it is one thing to draw ornamental crowns or wreaths around a cross or work them out on a small scale in

[1] e.g. Garrucci, *Storia*, IV, Tav. 214, 224.

sheet or cast bronze, but quite another to execute a wheel cross head in the round on a monumental scale, for this involved stone cutting of quite an advanced kind. Hence we should not expect the wheel cross head in stone to be very early.

Leaving however aside for the moment all question of monumental forms, attention must now be directed to the ornamentation of the decorative cross forms and their treatment in detail.

In connection with the simplest form of the cross as found in incised or painted representations of it in the catacombs, this ornamental treatment may be seen in the early example figured Fig. 7, 2, to begin with the same use of the serif that we find in the letters of the inscription with which the cross is connected, that is, the ends of the upright strokes are a little spread out as an ornamental finish. As a fact the treatment in the classical schools throughout is never more than an extension of this. A more elaborate serif, like that of the elegant characters of the well-known inscriptions of Pope Damasus, leads to a treatment of the cross terminals such as is shown Fig. 6, b and c. In the important V ivories in the British Museum, on one panel Christ carries a cross in the Latin form and on another is crucified on a Tau cross, the terminals in each case being spread out serif-fashion.[1] When the ends are bifurcated, as in the Galloway examples, there is ultimately formed the eight-pointed cross called 'Maltese.' This occurs in Syria as early as V or VI, as in the example from de Vogué, Fig. 7, 6. An extension of the outward curve down to the intersection of the arms leads naturally to the cross formed by four similar arcs of circles, one pair crossing the other at right angles, which becomes a normal form of the cross from about 600 onwards. Innumerable are the examples of crosses in these simple forms in which there is no

[1] Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities*, Lond., 1901, Pl. VI, and *Catalogue of Ivory Carvings*, 1909, Pl. IV.

PLATE X

THE CROSS IN TEUTONIC TOMB FURNITURE

special treatment or enlargement at the part where the arms intersect. Fig. 7, 5, 7, 8 (the last from de Vogué, I, Pl. 49) are typical of what is found in profusion on the Syrian lintels and in the other works of art indicated above (p. 86).

On works however of one particular class, and in connection with one special phase of Early Christian art, we find emphasis laid on this central region of the cross and with that a more free and fanciful treatment of the cross motive in general. The particular class is that formed by crosses, generally in the precious metals, that enshrined relics and were carried by ecclesiastics or worn upon the person; and the phase of art is that exemplified by Christian, and also as we shall see (p. 98) apparently non-Christian, objects of Teutonic provenance that make their appearance in Germanic cemeteries here and on the Continent, while the same forms can be traced still further back to early objects of undoubtedly pagan origin in Scandinavia. As an example of the first may be taken the pectoral cross found on the body of St Cuthbert at Durham, figured Pl. x, 1, on which see also antea, Vol. IV, p. 509. The shape of the cross exhibits an advance on the Roman forms previously noticed. The arc of a circle is still the generating form but this is now used to give a common outline to two adjacent arms instead of two opposite ones. The date of the modification might be hard to fix, but the two schemes occur on a series of closely related Teutonic monuments of about VII, the Merovingian plaster sarcophagi preserved in the Musée Carnavalet at Paris, see Fig. 8, 11, 12 (p. 97). The new form is used in the cross in the centre of the portable altar of St Cuthbert, found in his tomb, and figured later on Pl. xxv, 6 (p. 201). It belongs of course to VII.

To return to the pectoral cross of St Cuthbert, the point to notice is the centre where there is a round garnet in a setting that covers the place where a relic could be enshrined, while four smaller garnets are disposed about it, one in each intersection of the arms. These affect the outline of the whole

jewel, and it may be remarked that the same features occur in some of the carved stone 'High Crosses' of Ireland, as for example at Monasterboice. According to the prevailing fashion of dating British work from Irish, these High Crosses, being of late origin, would be supposed to carry with them a corresponding date for the Durham jewel, but such an inference would be entirely wrong. There is no doubt whatsoever that the pectoral cross is either Anglo-Saxon or Frankish work of VII, and the detail in question may very likely have been carried to Ireland from Northumbria. In the St Cuthbert cross the central disc does not encroach on the general outline, but, as we have seen, if a relic or some object of special importance were enshrined in this part, the covering medallion might very well increase in size and a form be produced such as is offered by the cross on the 'Herford' reliquary at Berlin, a Continental-Saxon work of VIII, or by the cross on a Merovingian reliquary given Pl. x, 3, and still more markedly by the so-called 'Wilton' pendant in the British Museum found in Norfolk and probably Kentish work of VII, though the large central round here was not for a relic but for a coin of special significance. The piece will be seen Pl. x, 2. Venturi[1] notices that these metal crosses of Early Christian date are very rare, the large examples at Brescia and Ravenna where this encroachment is seen, being of mediaeval origin. The famous Justin reliquary cross at St Peter's, Rome, a classical piece of VI, does not show it, and on the whole this central enlargement seems rather a Teutonic feature. This impression will be strengthened by a glance at Fig. 8, 1 (the upper illustrations) copied from an illustration in Baudot's Report on the excavation of the Burgundian cemetery at Charnay, which shows a collection of crosses of fanciful shapes, evincing the barbaric taste to which this treatment of the cross form may be ascribed. Another Burgundian piece in the Museum at St Germain, Fig. 8, 2, is marked with a cross of

[1] *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, vol. 1, ad fin.

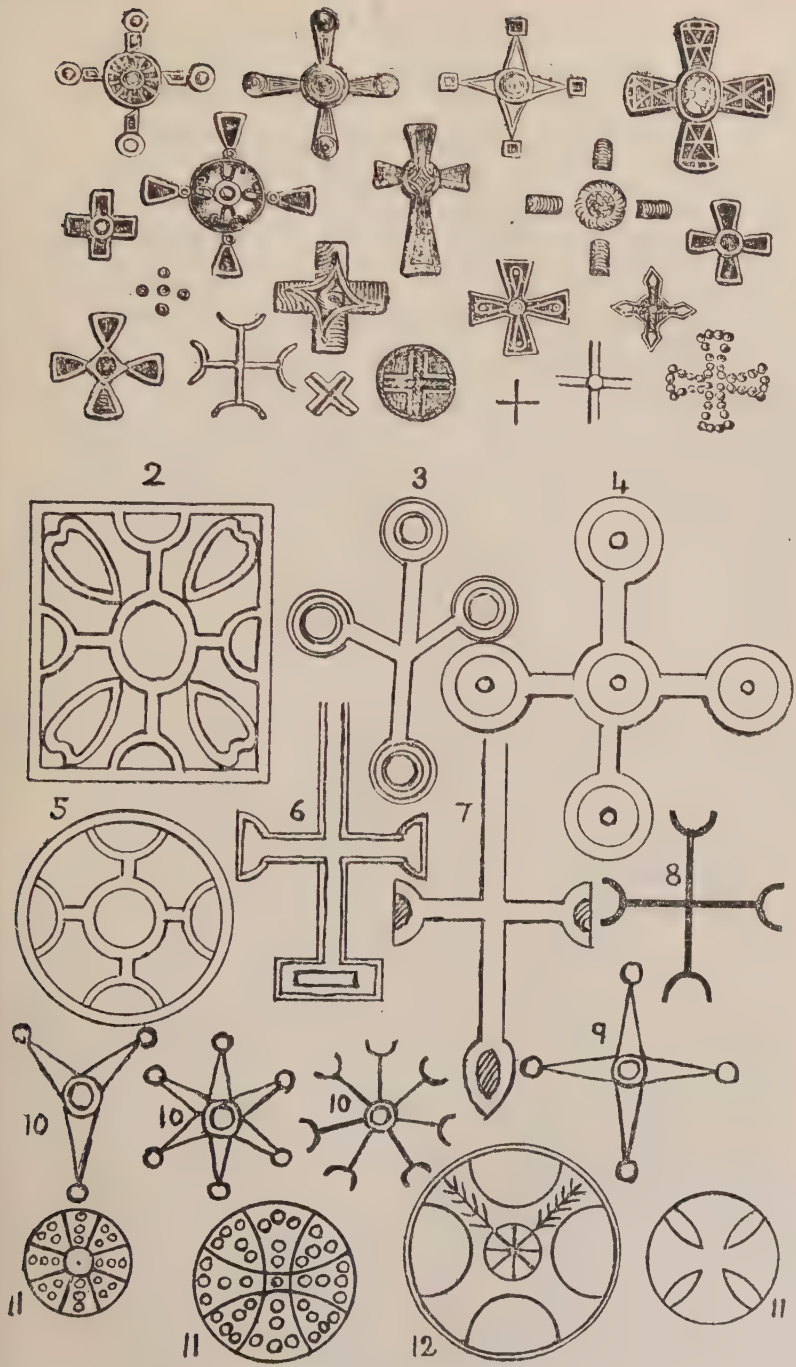

FIG. 8.—Crosses in Teutonic Tomb Furniture, etc.

almost the exact pattern so much in evidence at Hartlepool and Clonmacnois, and is Christian work of about 500 A.D. It is an inlaid buckle plate. In our own country a similar form occurs in Christian associations. We find it Pl. x, 4 (see antea, Vol. III, p. 311) in the case of a VII jewelled gold pendant found at Twickenham that is at any rate of Christian date, and that shows, most probably only as a coincidence, a ring connecting the arms as on the later wheel cross heads. Pl. x, 5, 6, show us the origin in a Christian device on the early sceat coins (Vol. III, Ch. II) of a form of the cross occurring now and then on Christian carved stones in the North and once also in South Wales. On the sceattas, as well as on the Merovingian 'trientes' that preceded them, the cross is of constant occurrence, and there are sometimes circles and dots in the field which in some cases coalesce with the arms forming ornamental terminals. Pl. x, 5, 6, exhibit two in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. The form in 6, with circles as terminals to the arms, explains a cross form such as those of Fig. 8, 3, occurring on a stone cross head at Carlisle, or Fig. 8, 4, on a similar piece in Llandilo Church, Carmarthenshire. This is just the form seen on the slabs Hartlepool 0 and 8 and Lindisfarne 9, 11, Fig. 3 and Pl. VI, VII.

It is interesting to note that we can go still further back in the history of Germanic antiquities. The brooch Fig. 8, 5, from Bifrons, Kent (Vol. IV, p. 534), is early, and belongs to the pagan Saxon period, but exhibits a similar shape. A modification of the same form is in evidence in the decoration of early bronze square-headed fibulae found in Kent and also of the pagan period. Fig. 8, 6, 7, give examples, and the brooches themselves were illustrated Vol. III, Pl. XXIV, top row. It is possible of course that the form was adopted from an object made in some already Christianized Teutonic area of the Continent, but this explanation is more difficult of acceptance when we come to the remarkable case of the appearance of crosses of the forms here in question on an

object of apparently quite early date in pagan Scandinavia. The reference is to the horn of gold found in 1734 at Gallehus in Jutland, the fellow to the similar horn found there in 1639 but differing from it in the possession of an inscription in runic characters of the oldest North German type. Both horns were stolen and melted down in 1802, and we have to rely on engravings which are accessible in Stephens's *Handbook of the Old-Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 85 f. The horns were covered with figures of men and animals incised or in relief, the interpretation of which is highly problematical but in which there is certainly nothing recognizably Christian. On the horn of 1734 the fields of decoration are powdered with many-pointed stars and also with crosses that are very similar in type to those Germanic examples just passed in review. Fig. 8, 8, 9, give specimens. They are accompanied on the horns by so many devices similar in type but not exactly cruciform, see the examples Fig. 8, 10, that they may be accidental, or it is possible that they are really Christian crosses but adopted by the pagan craftsman from some imported object from a Christianized land, and developed or contracted into the many-pointed stars or triskeles, No. 10. In any case they show that the ornamental cross shapes with which we are dealing composed part of the early Teutonic craftsman's repertory of forms and were ready to hand when required for the purposes of Christian art.

There has now been made sufficiently clear the derivation of the shape and decorative treatment of the cross with which we have been specially concerned, that one, to wit, in which circles figure in centres and at the ends of arms. The appearance of this on the Hartlepool tombstones of VII and early VIII is thus easily explained from Anglian sources, and Ireland may be left altogether out of the question. The intercourse between Great Britain and the sister island accounts for the transmission of the form to Erin, where it seems at one time to have possessed considerable vogue. That this

time should be later than the time when the form was in use in England is all in accordance with the historical situation as now elucidated, and is moreover a fact of considerable significance for the interpretation of the artistic phenomena of this whole period of British art.

The assumption of Celtic priority in all matters artistic, already spoken of (p. 77), has had a considerable effect on students of Anglo-Saxon art. It was noticed in the Introduction (p. 18) that there is one question in the domain of that art which is fundamental, and this is the date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses. The conclusions to which we have now arrived, though in themselves of minor intrinsic importance, are related to this larger question. Among the arguments used by those who oppose an early date for the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses is one based on a comparison with Irish monuments. The highly decorated Irish crosses are comparatively late, of X and the two following centuries, and it has been assumed that similar work in England and Scotland must be of contemporary or of later date. This view is expressed by Miss Margaret Stokes in the following words.[1] 'The evidence for the age of the Irish inscribed crosses being such as we have stated, they may be considered as giving a key to that of monuments in Scotland and the North of England, which exhibit sculpture of a similar character, and we are therefore inclined to question the very early dates' proposed for some Northumbrian examples. Mr Romilly Allen, in his *Early Christian Symbolism*,[2] takes the same view. 'The evidence,' he writes, 'as to the age of the sculptured stones of Northumbria is rather unreliable. . . . The general result of the above investigation is to show that in Ireland, where Celtic art originated, none of the ornamented sculptured stones can be proved to be older than the ninth century, and therefore it is very improbable that those in

[1] *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, Dublin, 1911, p. 108.

[2] London, 1887, p. 85.

England, Scotland, and Wales can be ascribed to an earlier period.' The demonstration in this Chapter that in one particular detail of the art called 'Celtic,' the cross with central circle and semicircular or circular terminals, the form did not 'originate in Ireland,' but was imported thither from the domain of Teutonic culture, is sufficient ground for an abandonment, or at any rate a reconsideration of the current theories as to the relation of Irish and British artistic forms in the Early Christian centuries.

CHAPTER IV

THE RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE CROSSES: THE GENERAL FORM AND HISTORY OF THE MONUMENTS

In beginning a discussion that must necessarily be prolonged it will be convenient to the reader to have before him on one plate arranged for easy reference views of the eight faces of the two crosses side by side with letters indicating the sides according to their orientation, the whole forming a complete chart of the work. The photographs were taken from the originals in sections, the only possible method for the Ruthwell cross which is at present so placed that no complete negative of any one side can be obtained. The Plate is numbered xi. Other views have at the same time been added. Plates xii and xiii exhibit the Bewcastle Cross from the south-west and the north-east as it now stands, and that at Ruthwell is similarly shown from the south-west in its present location on Pl. xiv (p. 108).

The Bewcastle shaft still occupies its original position in the burying ground attached to the church of St Cuthbert within the bounds of a Roman station by Shopford in Cumberland, some ten miles south of the Scottish border. The country in the immediate vicinity is agricultural, and fifty years ago seems to have been more populous than at present, but the moors begin almost at once to the north and east and form the background of the scene. The Frontispiece to this Volume shows the beautiful figure of Christ on the principal face of the shaft, with its suggestion of classical grace and refinement, seen against the rolling uplands of a typical west-Northumbrian landscape. Of this figure a Greek would have said that it is

RUTHWELL BEWCASTLE

PLATE XI.—COMPLETE VIEWS OF THE RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE CROSSES

οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος, 'not anybody's work'—it bears indeed the stamp of distinction as a true work of art embodying a noble conception in an adequate monumental form. He must be a very dour archaeologist whose imagination is not touched when he lights upon this bit of poetic inspiration in its homely surroundings, and reads in the Anglian runes upon the stone the rugged names of the old Northumbrians who say they set it up!

The shaft, from which the cross head or other terminal, that was in a separate piece, has been broken away, is in its present truncated condition 14 ft. 6 in. high above the base, and in width measures below 1 ft. 10½ in. on the west and east faces by 1 ft. 9 in. on the north and south, tapering to corresponding dimensions at the top of 1 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 1 in. The horizontal section accordingly is not square but oblong, a fact the significance of which will be noticed later on (p. 149 f.). The stone is sunk about 11 in. into a massive base calculated to weigh about 5 tons, a portion of which, on the southern side, had been split off when in 1893 the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society had the defect repaired and the whole made secure. The upright shaft is fixed in its socket by lead run in between it and the sides of the sinking. This is a Roman fashion, and that the technique was continued in the North is shown by the record in Symeon of Durham that when the Viking raiders of Lindisfarne had broken off the head of a stone cross the two pieces were afterwards joined together by being run with lead.[1] The part of the base on the south seen in the photograph Pl. xxi (p. 146) is in a new piece of stone cemented on to the old portion. It ends with rectangular corners, whereas the original base preserved in the northern part had the corners chamfered off, so that the plan of the upper surface was octagonal. The socket stone, or base, has given slightly on the western side, though not to any dangerous extent, the sinking having been probably caused

[1] *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series 75, 'Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.,' bk. i, ch. 12.

by grave-digging operations. The result is that the shaft leans over towards the west about 4 in. from the perpendicular. The location of the monument is near the south-western corner of the church, and it is rather closely encircled by tombstones of the last two or three centuries. The shaft is oriented, and as would be expected the principal face is turned towards the west, since it is normally from this direction that the worshipper will approach a sacred spot.

FIG. 9.—The Stone on Langbar or White Lyne Common.

The material is local, a hard, rather coarse-grained, grey sandstone, and a block of exactly similar stone, 16 ft. long, evidently intended for a fellow monument, hewn away from its bed but never brought down to the lower ground (p. 315), is still to be seen on the elevated ridge of the moor called White Lyne Common, about five miles from the church, in the general direction of Christianbury Craig. Fig. 9 gives a view of it drawn from a photograph taken by the writer.

PLATE XII

BEWCASTLE CROSS FROM SOUTH-WEST

PLATE XIII

BEWCASTLE CROSS FROM NORTH-EAST

In contrast with this unbroken record the history of the Ruthwell monument is chequered. It now stands in an apsidal projection built out on the north side of Ruthwell church between Annan and Dumfries, where it was set up in 1887 and scheduled as under Government protection in accordance with the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882. Owing to its height it was found necessary to sink it below the floor of the building, and it is located, with plenty of room about it, in a sort of pit some 4 ft. deep, surrounded above with a balustrade and provided with steps by which it is possible to descend and examine closely the lower part of the shaft. From the floor of the church the spectator is well able to study the work, for the eye is about level with a point half-way up the shaft. This is bedded to a depth of 9 in. in the concrete at the bottom of the sinking, and it rises to the height of 17 ft. 4 in. above this level. As is the case at Bewcastle, the shaft is of an oblong not a square section, so that it has two broad and two narrow faces, the former bearing the figure sculpture. On the broad faces there is a plinth at the bottom of the height of about 3 ft. 8 in., but it has been cut away on the eastern side so that the projection is now only in evidence on the west. The present breadth of the plinth is about 2 ft. 3 in. Above this the shaft is reduced in width by curved sets-off, one being cut away, and it tapers from a breadth of about 1 ft. 9 in. to one of about 1 ft. 1 in. at the base of the cross head. The narrow faces of the shaft taper from about 1 ft. 5 or 6 in. at the ground level—the plinth only projects laterally—to about 9 in. at the foot of the terminal cross. The exact dimensions of the latter cannot now be ascertained, but as it is set up the height of the head is 3 ft. 1 in. The head was not as at Bewcastle in a separate piece, but was cut in the same stone as the upper part of the shaft. There was from the first a join in the shaft which is not like that at Bewcastle a monolith, and this join comes above the panels with the figures of Christ on the present north and south faces. The original lower portion

measured about 13 ft. in height, and the upper, also a single piece, 5 ft. in height with a width sufficient for the breadth of the cross head. The two monuments are thus each in two pieces, though the pieces do not in the two cases correspond. The Ruthwell cross is now in six pieces, and besides these six which are all parts of the original there are also modern additions to make up portions that have been lost under conditions which the history of the monument explains.

Prior to 1887 this history can be followed back in authentic records to the middle of XVII before which time only tradition is available. Local tradition, placed on record as early as the beginning of XVIII, affirmed that previous to the Reformation epoch it stood within the church, and the present condition of the monument lends to this credibility. When the surface of the stone is compared with that of the Bewcastle shaft it is seen that the latter, which has always stood in the open churchyard, is considerably weathered all over, whereas, though the Ruthwell stone is sadly bruised and scarred, those parts where the surface has not been exposed to definite injury are very well preserved—this applies specially to the incised runic lettering—and the inference is that for several centuries the monument stood under cover. Even after the actual Reformation the same protection was afforded to it and it did not suffer from iconoclastic zeal till nearly the middle of XVII.[1] In consequence of an Act of Assembly of the Scottish Church of 1642 in which are mentioned 'Idolatrous Monuments in Ruthwell,' it was about that time thrown down and broken into divers pieces, that were however allowed to remain in the church, where they found protection for 130 years or more and were seen and commented on by more than one observer. In a letter of May 24, 1697, William Nicolson, the zealous ecclesiastical antiquary who in 1702

[1] Detailed information about what is known of the history of the monument is given in the *Dumfriesshire Report of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Scotland*, published in 1920.

became bishop of Carlisle, writes of 'a most ravishing Runic monument . . . on a square stone-cross in Revel church,' and in his Diary he gives an account of a further examination of the monument with a notice of the local tradition concerning its origin to which reference will presently be made. As no notice occurs of the cross head, it seems likely that the transverse arm, or transom, in the centre of which there doubtless appeared some symbol of special sacredness—probably as will be seen the Agnus Dei—had attracted to itself iconoclastic hostility and was after 1642 put out of existence, the top piece however being fortunately spared.

Before the end of XVIII the fragments had been turned out into the churchyard, and when Dr Duncan, whose name will always be honourably associated with the monument, acquired the living 'he found it undergoing such rapid demolition, that he resolved to preserve it, by transferring it to a place of greater security. This resolution was carried into effect in the summer of 1802, when it was erected in a garden, which he had newly formed in the immediate neighbourhood of the churchyard.'[1] Some twenty years later Dr Duncan undertook a drastic work of restoration, though without working over or injuring in any way the actual original fragments. Either then, or perhaps already in 1802, portions of new stone were fitted in at the upper part of the shaft to supply the place of sections of the original that were wanting, and the important addition was made in 1823 of a new transverse arm. The form of this, he says, was arrived at by comparison with the still surviving vertical arms of the cross, but he tells us nothing about the ornamentation placed upon it. This is purely arbitrary and has no authority nor archaeological value. The appearance of the monument as it stood in the grounds attached to the Manse of Ruthwell, on a spot now marked by a tree surrounded with an iron fence, is well known from the

[1] *Archaeologia Scotica*, IV, Edin., 1857, p. 318.

[2] ibid., p. 319.

photographs taken of it in a fortunate moment by Mr J. Rutherford of Jardington, Dumfriesshire. By the kind permission of Mr Rutherford, and of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, to whom he presented the valuable negatives, one of these photographs is here reproduced on Pl. xv.

Here the cross remained till for the sake of further protection and security it was finally taken in and housed in the setting already noticed, with a brass plate beside it thus inscribed :—

THE RUTHWELL CROSS :

DATES FROM ANGLO-SAXON TIMES : DESTROYED DURING THE CONFLICTS WHICH FOLLOWED THE REFORMATION : LAY IN THE EARTHEN FLOOR OF THE CHURCH FROM 1642 TO 1790 : ERECTED IN THE MANSE GARDEN IN 1823 : SHELTERED HERE AND DECLARED A MONUMENT UNDER THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS ACT IN 1887.

It has been seen that the cross was originally in two pieces, one forming the lower and larger portion of the shaft, the other the upper portion of the shaft and the head. The two pieces of stone differ in some degree in colour, the upper having a tinge of deep red owing to the presence of a large quantity of iron, the lower being of a warm grey. Both belong to the geological formation known as the New Red Sandstone, which occurs in the Nithsdale district where Ruthwell is situated, as well as on the other side of the Solway in Cumberland. The question of the provenance of the stone or rather stones of the cross at once presents itself, and in this connection reference must be made to the traditions of the early history of the monument already noticed. An entry in the Diary of William Nicolson of the date July 5, 1704,[1] contains the

[1] Printed in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, new series, II, p. 196 f.

PLATE XIV

RUTHWELL CROSS FROM SOUTH-WEST

following :—' The common Tradition of y^e^ Original of this stone is this : It was found, letter'd and entire, in a Stone-Quarry on this Shore '—the entry refers to ' Revel '—' (a good way within y^e^ Sea-mark) called Rough-Scarr. Here it had lain long admir'd, when (in a Dream) a neighbouring Labourer was directed to yoke four Heifers of a certain Widow y^t^ lived near him ; and, where they stop'd with y^ir^ Burden, there to slack his Team, erect y^e^ Cross & build a Church over it : All which was done accordingly.' Later in XVIII the notice communicated to the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*[1] by John Craig, who was minister of Ruthwell from 1783 to 1798, contains the additional information, ' Tradition says, that this obelisk, in remote times, was set up at a place called Priest-woodside near the sea, in order to assist the vulgar, by sensible images, to form some notions of religion, but was drawn from thence by a team of oxen belonging to a widow and placed in the churchyard, where it remained till the reformation . . .,' and Dr Duncan in his *Account* of 1852[2] says that this tradition was still common at that time in the parish.

It needs hardly to be said that in relation to monuments of this kind no genuine local tradition should be ignored. On the basis of what has been quoted there might be founded a plausible theory that the cross was originally set up near the sea and used, as we know such crosses were actually employed, as a preaching station, from which fact might be explained the local name containing the word ' priest.' The removal of the monument to the church is also quite possible, though the manner of the transfer reminds us of the familiar legend about Durham and of innumerable similar stories in the Lives of early saints. Its erection, as Craig reports, in the churchyard is more likely than its admission into the actual building, though as is noticed above the condition of the stone suggests that it had stood for a long time under cover, and the

[1] Edinburgh, 1794, vol. x, p. 220 f.

[2] *Archaeologia Scotica*, l.c., p. 317.

undoubted fact that the fragments of it were preserved within the sacred edifice is additional proof that it had stood there before it was thrown down and broken.

On this same legend however a theory has been founded that the cross is not of local origin but was brought from over the sea and set up near the shore, and it has even been suggested that its place of origin was Cumberland, where there stands at Gosforth the superb monolithic cross of sandstone, which though of much later date may be held to make a third with the two at Bewcastle and Ruthwell. In connection with this the question at once arises whether or not the material of the Ruthwell cross is the product of a local quarry. Bewcastle is certainly of local stone and there is good reason to assume the same in the case of Gosforth, though the exact provenance of the rather peculiar but excessively hard and lasting stone of the Gosforth cross has never been ascertained. In regard to Ruthwell, though sandstones of the same kind might be found in Cumberland, yet there is every reason to believe its material to be of local origin, and the idea that the monument is imported is not one to be taken seriously. There is now no actual sandstone quarry worked in the vicinity of Ruthwell, but there is plenty of the stone available, and it is used for the houses and walls of the locality. A single sound block the whole length of the monument and of a breadth at one end sufficient for the transom would not be easy to find save in a quarry of exceptional excellence, and it is not surprising that two pieces have been used. That these are not exactly alike does not prove that they were not both from the same site, for Mr Postlethwaite, the well-known authority on Cumbrian geology, in a private communication notices that in these sandstones ' local variations in hardness, etc., may occur in a few feet or yards.' When Dr Duncan put the broken cross together he employed ' a country mason ' who had to add some modern pieces to make up what was found to be missing. Local stone would naturally be employed, and it is

PLATE XV

RUTHWELL CROSS BEFORE 1887, WHEN IT WAS TAKEN INTO THE CHURCH

evident that pains were taken to match in the new pieces the colours of the old, a redder stone being used in one part a greyer in another, to suit the differences in the original materials. Now a careful comparison made with the aid of a powerful lens between the original stones and these added pieces together with other fragments of sandstone picked up in the vicinity makes it quite clear that the original material was obtained from the local sandstones. The size of the grains of quartz, their sharpness and polish which are very notable, and the amount of admixture of the particles of mica, are all practically the same and place what has been said beyond any reasonable doubt.[1]

On this point, an important one, reference may be made to a paper[2] on the subject by Mr James Barbour, F.S.A., of Dumfries, an experienced architect and an archaeologist of established repute. He notices that ' the popular account of the origin of the Ruthwell Cross derived from tradition affirms that on being conveyed by sea from some distant country it was shipwrecked at a place called Priestwoodside ' and explains this theory of a foreign origin as ' a common way of accounting for the presence of works without a history, and possessing merit superior apparently to any effort of local skill as this is,' going on then to demonstrate the indigenous origin of the monument from the character of its material. A comparison of this with local stones with which he had dealt professionally convinced Mr Barbour that they all belonged to the same formations, and after giving the results of a detailed analysis he sums up in the following words :—' The facts stated are, I submit, fairly conclusive of the stone having been obtained from a local quarry ; and it follows that in all probability the

[1] The help in this matter afforded by the Geological Department of Edinburgh University is most gratefully acknowledged.

[2] In *The Transactions and Journal of Proceedings of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, vol. XVI, Session 1899-1900.

Cross was sculptured and first set up in the vicinity where it stands.'

The Plates XI to XV give an opportunity for a comparison of the two monuments. Their resemblance is obvious and is chiefly striking in the close correspondence between the principal figures, the above-mentioned effigies of Christ in Glory on the western or principal face of the Bewcastle shaft and the (present) northern face of that at Ruthwell, shown on Pl. XVII (p. 128). They are not the same but result from a freely artistic treatment of a common original. At Ruthwell the two narrow faces, now facing east and west (Pl. XI), display ornament that is clearly of the same order as that which fills the eastern side at Bewcastle (Pl. XIII). At Ruthwell on the same face as the Christ there are the two St Johns, Baptist and Evangelist, and at Bewcastle John the Baptist stands above the Christ with a figure below that the present writer believes to be an unconventionally treated John the Evangelist. To set against these striking resemblances there are marked differences, but these do not render in any way uncertain the conclusion to which so much evidence points that the two monuments agree in their general date and provenance. One was no doubt executed after the other, but by the same set of craftsmen and in almost immediate sequence. Which of the two was the earlier is a matter of purely subjective judgement, and some reasons for assuming priority for the Ruthwell monument will be given in the sequel (p. 313 f.).

If the western and eastern faces of the Cumbrian monument correspond with what we find on the northern face and on the two narrow sides at Ruthwell, Bewcastle shows on the north and south elements not represented on the sister cross. On each of these two sides there are two panels of foliage ornament with no animals introduced that are so bold and original in design that we must accept them as *sui generis*, without recognizable prototypes, and, especially the two lower ones (Pll. XXI, XXVIII, pp. 146, 280), without rivals in merit.

With these foliage panels alternate on the southern side panels to the number of three filled with interlacing patterns, while on the northern side the middle space, bordered above and below by interlacing panels, displays a chequer pattern of sunk squares that is one of the most notable elements in the decorative scheme. Nothing in these kinds appears at Ruthwell, but there is on the other hand a much greater development of figure sculpture, ten spaces being so treated on the shaft against three at Bewcastle, the cross heads being left out of account as we do not know how that at Bewcastle was treated. There is a difference too in the inscriptions, which at Bewcastle are in runes alone, while at Ruthwell most of the figure subjects are accompanied by inscriptions in Latin, runes being employed on other parts of the cross. At Ruthwell all the inscriptions now existing are on the margins that border the panels of figure subjects or ornament, but at Bewcastle there are provided for the writing more extensive spaces. Here moreover the margins, which are left at Ruthwell plain and square to receive the lettering, are worked into large roll mouldings.

Another marked difference concerns the terminals of the shafts. Ruthwell possesses at any rate the remains of the original cross head, but at Bewcastle no trace of a cross head exists though evidence of the former existence of such a terminal is to be seen at the top of the shaft, where for the reception of the tenon of the cross head there is a sinking, now made up and partly filled in with cement. The arrangement must have been different from that at Ruthwell. Here at Bewcastle, above the top of the uppermost worked panels the shaft rises plain to a height of 7 or 8 in. without any suggestion of a terminal, whereas at Ruthwell the cross head begins with a definite feature just at the top of the highest panel of the shaft.

About the lost head at Bewcastle however there is a tale to be told, for a stone with a runic inscription that at the time was taken for part of it was in evidence in the early part of

XVII.[1] The stone was then in the possession of Lord William Howard of Naworth, the 'Belted Will' of Cumbrian tradition, and he showed it in 1618 to two of the English scholars who were at the time doing so much for the study of the national antiquities. These were Sir Henry Spelman of the *Concilia*, and William Camden, who was at the time busy with the publication of successive editions of his *Britannia* and *Remaines concerning Britaine*. Spelman sent a copy of the runic inscription to the Danish scholar Olaus Worm, who printed it and gave a reading of the runes, which was however valueless because Worm did not apprehend the differences between the Anglian and the Scandinavian characters (p. 187). Meanwhile the original stone, despatched by Lord William Howard, had reached the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, through an intermediary, Lord Arundel of the Arundel Marbles. Cotton, who was forming his famous library of manuscripts, communicated the fact of this acquisition to a friend in a holograph note, which can be seen inserted between pp. 644 and what should be 645 of Camden's own copy of the *Britannia*,[2] now in the Bodleian (MS. Smith 1). The note gives a copy of the line of runes, adding some sentences beginning 'I receaved this morning a ston from my lord of Arundell sent him from my lord William it was the head of a Cross at Bewcastell All the letters legable ar thes in on Line,' and continuing with more private matters.

[1] Reference may be made to a paper on 'The Runes on the Lost Head of Bewcastle Cross,' in the Cumberland and Westmorland Society's *Transactions*, N.S., X, 503; and to *Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross*, by Professor Albert Cook, New York, 1914, p. 128.

[2] *Britannia*, Guilielmo Camdeno Authore, Londini, M, DC, VII.

There is a mistake in the pagination of the volume and 643, 644 are given a second time in place of 645, 646. That Cotton's correspondent was Camden seems on the following evidence practically certain. Cotton in his note uses the words 'have a car of your health, for with you the best of our understandinge is lyk to perish,' which can hardly be addressed to any one else, and the note is inserted opposite the page in the *Britannia* on which is a notice of the Bewcastle cross, which again suggests Camden as the agent.

This same line of runic characters with the omission of one small stroke is given with important notes in two Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum, Domitian, XVIII, f. 37, and Julius F. VI, f. 313. The first, after the runes, goes on :—

'This inscription was on the head of a cross found at Beucastell in 1615.

{ The length of the stone. bein the head of the Crosse— 16. inches
The breadth at the upper end—12. ynches
The Thickness—4. inches }.'

The Julius note repeats in substance the above but adds the information '(Bucastle inscription for Mr Clarenceaulx)' i.e. Camden.

Spelman it should be noted stated about the stone[1] 'Sculpta fuit haec Inscriptio Epistylio crucis lapideae Beucastri partibus Angliae borealibus . . .' and we have thus two independent statements by him and by Cotton (repeated in the two Cottonian MSS.) that it was or was part of a cross head, for 'epistylium' can only mean a horizontal member surmounting a vertical support. No doubt however the original authority was Lord William Howard, who as a local antiquary should know what he was talking about. It is most unfortunate that none of the antiquaries who were interested in the stone made a thumbnail sketch of it, or even told us how far it showed evidences of fracture. The mention of the breadth 'at the upper end' signifies that the slab was not of parallelepiped form, but measured more at one end than at the other. Neither are we informed on what part of the stone was the recorded inscription, nor whether there were other characters visible. It has been held that Cotton's words 'All the letters legable ar(e) thes(e) in on(e) Line' imply that there were others

[1] In a letter from him printed by Worm, *Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex*, Hafniae, 1643, p. 161.

which he could not make out. This, as we shall presently see, is probably the fact.

One of the most remarkable features of the situation is the fact that both Spelman and Cotton read the runes correctly, that is, so as to satisfy the modern philologist, and agree exactly in their transcripts. The two British Museum copies differ in that they omit the small stroke within the U that turns it into a Y, a detail given by each of the two independent copyists. This reflects much credit, as has been said, on the two antiquaries, but it also shows that the characters must have been extraordinarily clear and the weathering of the stone in this part comparatively slight. As regards the dimensions given, the 'length' was 16 in., the 'thickness' 4 in., but the 'breadth' must be regarded as uncertain. It is given as 12 in. 'at the upper end,' which implies a lesser dimension at the 'lower' end, and suggests a slanting fracture that may have taken off some inches from the original breadth even at the 'upper end.' Hence it was quite possibly a slab 16 in. square or 16 in. by 17 in., and 4 in. thick, which might conceivably have been laid horizontally on the top of the shaft as an epistyle or impost with some suitable terminal, such as a cross head like that of the Acca cross, to surmount the whole. The dimension 16 in. square or better 16 in. by 15 in. or 17 in. would correspond to the actual dimensions of the top of the shaft which is 14 in. by 13 in. It will be noted, see Fig. 12 (p. 169), that in the Acca cross (p. 170) there are interposed between the top of the shaft where the inscription comes and the cross proper certain horizontal members which might be regarded as an amplification of the plain slightly projecting epistyle on the earlier monument at Bewcastle. Fig. 10, 1, gives a suggestion for the original aspect of the summit of the Bewcastle Cross, with the place of the inscribed epistyle, and also, 2, a sketch of the stone Cotton received, according to the view here presented.

If it be permitted to elaborate the suggestion here offered,

we may conjecture that the slab, forming as has been described an impost, was cut through in the centre with a square opening through which passed the tenon of the cross head to be fixed

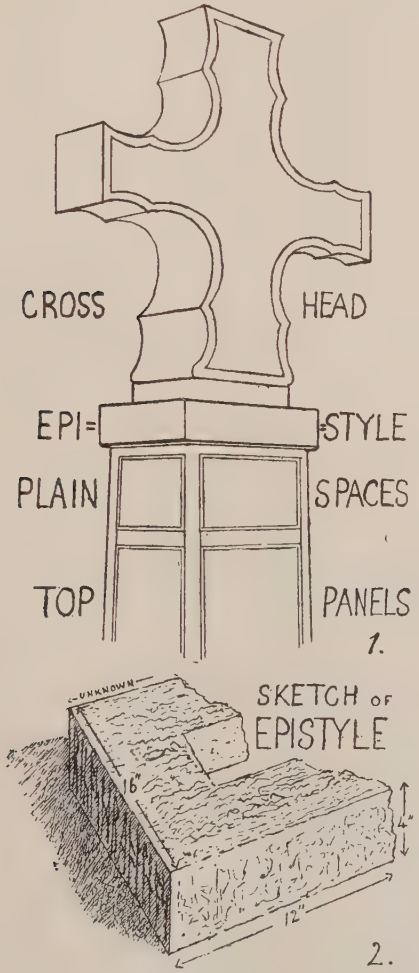

FIG. 10.—1, Sketch for the lost Head of the Bewcastle Cross.
2. The 'Cotton' Stone.

in the sinking on the head of the shaft. An inscription ran round its edges in the same position as the existing inscriptions on the horizontal bands separating the panels below.

The lettering of this inscription would remain in much better preservation on the northern side protected by the church than on the other faces (p. 201). At a time and under conditions that are quite unknown to us the cross head was broken off, and, as Chancellor Ferguson in his Report on the cross[1] remarks, 'great violence has been used to detach the cross which formerly stood in the socket on the top of the obelisk, as shown by the broken sides to E. and S.' The terminal in its fall wrenched away the impost slab below it, and at the moment of rupture or when it reached the ground this slab was broken across, losing three or five inches on one face[2] and an unknown number of inches on the other. What became of the actual terminal we know no more than we know of the fate of innumerable other cross heads which are desired by their truncated shafts in churchyards all over the country. The impost slab however attracted Lord William Howard's attention. He had already sent stones with inscriptions to his friend Sir Robert Cotton,[3] whose interest in antiquities was of a literary cast, and seeing letters clearly in evidence on that edge of the slab that had been turned towards the north, he took it along to Naworth for transmission to his correspondent. In Vol. 68 of the Surtees Society's publications on p. 506 there is a contemporary mention of a certain stone which Lord William had 'with a greate many more, in his garden wall at Nawarde,' and as Camden is asked to come 'to reede them' it is clear he was collecting stones for the sake

[1] *C. & W. Arch. Soc. Transactions*, XII, 1893, p. 51 f.

[2] The top of the cross shaft measures 14 in. on the west face and 13 in. on the north face. If the inscribed side of the epistyle was turned to the north or sheltered side it would, being 16 in. long, project 1½ in. on each side. In this case, to project also 1½ in. over the western face, which measures 14 in., the slab would need to be 17 in. long, and this would mean that 5 in. were broken off beyond the 12 in. measured by Cotton. If the inscription were turned to the west instead of the north, the slab would need to measure 16 in. by 15 in. and would project one inch.

[3] *C. & W. Arch. Soc. Transactions*, N.S., X, 504.

of their inscriptions. On the other edges the stone may have been much more extensively weathered, and he let the other piece of the fractured slab lie.

In the matter of the inscription, this is given Fig. 18 No. 2 (p. 246) from the copy in Cotton's note to Camden, and the requisite philological notes will be found as below[1] by Kemble who transliterated it in two words RICÆS DRYHTNÆS which he renders *domini potentis*. Whether or no the first word has a religious significance may be questioned, but as the name of Christ appeared in large letters just below and was repeated on the western face, the *dominus* may have been Alcfrith, the king in whose honour the cross is said to have been erected (Fig. 18, 1). A calculation made on the basis of the other runic lettering on the crosses shows that with letters about 3 in. high there would have been just room for the 13 characters in the 16 in. of the length of the edge[2]—indeed they must have been so placed for they were in one line and 16 in. is the longest space recorded. In Cotton's note the characters are surrounded by lines, and these might be expected to indicate the outline of the edge of the slab. As given in the copy however the proportions do not accord, for if 4 in. high the slab would be about 30 in. long. Cotton may have copied the characters in inexact proportions and spacing, and drawn in the outlines to correspond.

It would be as easy for the present writer, as for any one else, to find difficulties in the acceptance of this hypothesis, but none of these seems really insuperable, and it presents the advantage that it vindicates the accuracy of the master of Naworth. As Commissioner for the Border, 'Belted Will Howard' was all over the country, and he is described by Camden as 'a singular lover of valuable antiquity and learned

[1] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxviii, p. 346.

[2] In the close spacing on the margins of the Ruthwell cross as many as four runic characters were cut in a space of about 3 in., while in the wide spacing of the main inscription at Bewcastle about six will go into 8 in.

withal.' That he was mistaken when he told Spelman that the stone was the epistyle of a cross at Bewcastle is most unlikely.

To return now to Ruthwell. Here there is no sign of such an impost, but the cross head begins with a definite feature just above the highest sculptured panel. This feature consists in a slight lateral projection on each side marking where shaft ends and terminal begins. In another form we have met with the detail already (p. 89). In itself insignificant, it is of importance here in disproving a theory that has found its way into print that there was at Ruthwell a wheel cross head. This was certainly not the case, as the form and treatment of the cross head and the condition of its surviving portions sufficiently show.

At Ruthwell the transom, or horizontal arm of the cross is modern and may be entirely ignored (p. 107). On the other hand the upper and the lower arms of the cross head are original, and have preserved the primitive outline and surface as well as sculptural representations of the highest interest. The carver who fitted the modern transom to the original lower arm misunderstood the form, and the junction is bungled, though at the upper side of the transom it is managed correctly. Here, it will be seen, a sweeping curve fills in the angle, while there is a second curve between this and the end of the arm. This double curve is well marked and absolutely original, for it is repeated by the inner edges of the margins, where no alteration would have been possible. It is important to observe this, for it has been said that there are indications of the former presence of a stone ring which might have been chipped away in modern times. A very careful examination of the original has failed to verify these supposed indications, and it is enough to scrutinize narrowly the well-preserved surfaces of the (present) eastern and western sides of the upper arm in order to see that there was no stone ring in conjunction with it. What has been chipped away is not the remains of a ring but the projection above noticed where the bottom of

the cross head exceeds a little in width the top of the shaft, and this for some reason has been in parts hacked off. The projection again, as will be seen Pl. XIV, Ruthwell, west side, comes up flush with the front surface of the cross head whereas in well-executed wheel cross heads the ring is set a little back, that is, is thinner from front to back than the arms of the cross.

CHAPTER V

THE RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE CROSSES: A DETAILED DESCRIPTION

A DETAILED description of the monuments now follows, a commencement being made with the principal faces, which agree in presenting the notable figure of Christ already familiar to the reader.

The cross head at Ruthwell possesses as we have seen the original upper and lower limbs though the side arms and the centre are modern. It is easy as will be seen to conjecture what was displayed on the original transom at any rate on its principal face, but a correction is here to be made. When Dr Duncan restored the cross head he placed at the top the original terminal but unfortunately turned it the wrong way. To understand the scheme of decoration the arrangement must be reversed and this change has been made in the representation on Pl. XI (p. 103) though the small size of the reproduction hardly admits of it being recognized.

The subject now shown on the photograph at the summit of the (present) north side is the Evangelist St John with his eagle treated in a somewhat remarkable fashion. Pl. XVI, 1, gives the detail from a cast, the position of the piece rendering a direct photograph very difficult. It will there be seen that the eagle is no mere attribute but is the principal element in the composition, occupying with the sweeping wing at its back the whole height of the panel. It is the Evangelist that is the attribute, and he is in comparison miserably cramped and awkward. He has a large head, but a torso of the most meagre proportions covered with a cloak thrown over both shoulders

1 2

PLATE XVI

HEAD OF THE RUTHWELL CROSS

1, John the Evangelist ; 2, Eagle

and open at the breast. The lower part of the figure may be best explained on the supposition that the Evangelist is seated and that he holds across his knees an open book or scroll the sharp edge of which, seen on the dexter side in the photograph, is very clearly indicated. The left-hand claw of the bird appears to be held in the air a little above the book or scroll, and the space between it and the latter is filled in with a shapeless mass in which must be sought the hand or hands of the Evangelist. The probability is that the eagle is regarded by the artist as the source of the inspiration for what is to be written on the scroll, and that the action of the claw is that of dictation or indication. The margins of the panel bore an inscription in Latin language and character, which may be read, or filled out to, IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM, the two first letters of which are faintly and the two last clearly visible at the lower part of the two lateral margins, and are sufficient to attest the former presence of the phrase. These words are evidently being dictated by the mystical bird, whose importance in the representation is thus accounted for. Of the artistic rendering of the creature a word must be said in view of the prominence of the bird form in the decoration of the two crosses as a whole. The other claw of the eagle comes down nearly to the ground, and when carefully examined in the original reveals a feeling for nature and a skill in carving nothing short of astonishing. The anatomy of the claw with the pad out of which issues the actual talon makes it clear that the carver knew and loved birds of the eagle or falcon kind, and we cannot fail to remember the special excellence in the rendering of birds evinced by the designers of the early Anglo-Saxon sceat coins of VII.[1] The leg of the creature above the claw is cut away underneath so as to stand quite free of the ground, a detail that is a proof of the carver's plastic feeling and skill. The little finger can be passed in behind. These

[1] See Vol. III, Chapter II, 'The Artistic Aspects of the Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage,' p. 90 f.

finer details are of course often lost in the casts of the cross by which it is generally judged.

On the corresponding lower arm of the cross head, not well seen in the photograph, Pl. XI, Ruthwell, N., two figures, seen about half length, stand side by side. Both have long hair and that on the dexter side appears to be winged, for behind both shoulders there is visible a projection that resembles those indicating wings in the case of the Angel Gabriel in the scene of the Annunciation on the present southern face of the cross. The figure's right arm is bent and brought across the body, the index finger of the hand being extended as if in demonstration. The other figure is long-haired and beardless and holds with both hands a large book or tablet. The margins are so worn that no lettering could have survived assuming any to have been originally present. That the inscription would be in Latin characters and not in runes may be safely assumed, for with John the Evangelist brought to this side all the inscriptions on this face will be of the former kind.

There is little doubt that the two figures represent the evangelist Matthew and an angel which as his attribute might suitably find its place beside him. The motive would correspond to that of the evangelist St John with his eagle on the topmost arm of the cross, and we could safely postulate St Luke and St Mark, with their accompanying symbols, on the two ends of the transom, with an Agnus Dei or some other recognized symbol of Christ in the centre. The devices introduced by Dr Duncan on the modern stone he inserted as a transom have a semi-masonic appearance and as we have seen possess no authority. On this account in the photograph on Pl. XI (p. 103) the transom has been cut short on both sides.

It will be convenient to take in this place the two figure subjects on the other face of the cross head, corresponding to John the Evangelist and St Matthew. The top piece, it

will be remembered, has to be turned as it is wrongly adjusted on the cross as now set up. On this topmost stone, the upper arm of the cross, we find what is perhaps from the artistic point of view the most interesting of all the representations on the monument. It is shown Pl. XVI, 2. This is the boldly designed figure of an eagle or other bird of the falcon tribe that is supporting itself by one claw which grasps firmly a conventionally treated bough that ends with a tuft of foliage. The other claw, the right-hand one, is gathered up under the creature's body and it is turning its head furnished with a formidable beak towards the dexter side. The treatment is large and plastic, the position and action of the bird natural and effective. On the curved side margins of the panel sundry characters of an inscription can be identified, but as these characters are runic they may be passed over here to be considered later on in connection with the runic inscriptions in general on the two crosses. The upper margin is too much damaged for any characters to be made out upon it.

The lower arm of the cross on this face is occupied with the half figure of an archer who has drawn his arrow to the head and is about to discharge it upwards and to his left. He has long hair, and a short cloak hangs from his right shoulder. At the front of his body an object that is probably a quiver hangs by a broad band. The meaning of the archer and his relation to the eagle on the top panel are obscure, but it is quite possible that there is no recondite symbolism involved, or at any rate present in the mind of the carver, and that the eagle, treated with such spirit and natural feeling, is to the artist nothing but a noble quarry, that the archer will presently transfix with his shaft. On the Bewcastle cross there is a notable figure of a Falconer. Whomever he may represent, he is treated in quite a secular spirit, and we are reminded of the varied and interesting designs on the sceat coins in which religious symbolism is often abandoned in favour of some piquant bit of secularity, so that Lelewel remarked that the

Anglo-Saxon moneyer never quite divested himself of his native paganism. There are some traces of letters on the margins of this panel especially on the sinister one, but nothing can now be made out. Professor Viëtor thought the characters were runic, and this is to be expected, as immediately above, upon the top arm of the cross, the characters are undoubtedly of this kind, as they are also on the panel with the Visitation below (p. 195 f.). The eagle and the Archer are quite unconventional subjects, and do not fit into any of the recognized schemes or cycles, so that they give us no help towards determining what are the likely subjects for the back of the lost transom. These must be left uncertain.

The comparatively large panel below the head of the cross and above the Christ contains a figure of John the Baptist holding the Lamb. He is bearded and wears long hair and has a nimbus. The head of the Lamb is also nimbed and its body is treated with some elegance ; the right fore and hind legs which are preserved are gracefully drawn, while the two left ones now broken away were cut quite free from the ground. The stone has been fractured across the middle of the Baptist's figure and there is some filling in with cement the result being that the arms cannot be clearly made out. A heavy cloak comes down over the shoulders and falls in thick folds over the lower part of the figure. It was probably caught up over the right arm and left bare the right hand of which the fingers are visible, while the left arm, also apparently enfolded in the cloak, sustains the Lamb, which seems to have been treading upon it with the left foreleg and the two hindlegs, the right foreleg being raised. The two feet of the Baptist are generally described as supported on round globes, but others have seen in these supposed ' globes ' merely a pair of wooden ' sabots ' seen in front view. The ' sabot,' as will be seen, is the footgear of Mary and Elizabeth in the ' Visitation ' which occurs on the other side of the shaft, but in this case of the Baptist the old view is really the correct one, for on a close inspection

the two feet are seen fully modelled outside and on the top of the two globe-like objects, and not *in* them, as would be the case were they 'sabots.' The probability is that there was some miscalculation about the height of the figure, and it will be seen that on the corresponding panel on the southern side of the cross the height of the two figures of the 'Visitation' has been similarly made up with a plain block of stone under their feet. Under the cloak the Baptist appears to wear a tunic.

The whole of the margins of the panel were probably inscribed in Latin characters, but the only legible lettering is that on the lower part of the dexter border where (A)DORAMUS is quite clear. The O is a square set diamond-wise. The upper two-thirds of this margin, the top margin, and the upper half of the sinister one bear faint traces of lettering. The lower half of this border is a modern restoration, two new stones running through the whole thickness of the shaft having been here inserted. On the bottom margin letters are to be made out but form no intelligible words.

We will transfer our attention now for a moment to the sister monument, for as the two crosses explain and illustrate each other they must be associated in the critical description. The Bewcastle cross head was, we have seen, in a separate piece. On the west and partly on the north and south a plain portion of stone is seen surmounting the uppermost sculptured panels to a height of at least 8 in., as measured at the south-west corner. On two of the faces runic characters are to be made out here, see Fig. 18, 3 (p. 246), on the northern enough to show that the word was '[GE]SSUS' (Jesus), on the southern the letters LICE (body), leaving us to infer that the western side bore the word CRISTUS (Christ) though at present, owing to extensive weathering caused by the rain, no letters are visible. What followed after LICE we cannot tell, and the margin on the eastern side where the inscription may have ended has been broken away.

Below this plain margin is a sculptured panel with a figure of John the Baptist about 34 in. high, resembling the figure just described at Ruthwell. He is bearded and robed to the feet in a tunic over which is an ample paenula or mantle. The right hand is free from the cloak and the index finger points to what is sustained on the left hand and arm which are enveloped in the folds of the garment. This is the sacred Lamb, the Agnus Dei, nimbed and sitting up in a very life-like fashion. The ear is pricked up, and the two forelegs, the near hindleg and the tail can be clearly made out. A plain space below the Baptist is used for the display in large runic characters of the sacred name, spelled GESSUS CRISTTUS, Fig. 18, 4, and underneath this in a shallow niche arched at the top stands the Christ.

As has been already noticed this figure is practically the same on both the crosses, and the two versions may be considered together. It is a Christ in Glory with His feet resting on the heads of two beasts. The figures are of such interest and importance that the reproduction, Pl. XVII, is advisable. In both cases Christ holds in the left hand a scroll and raises the right in the attitude of one who is delivering a charge. The gesture of stretching out the open hand was an oratorical one, and early representations of our Lord with this gesture do not necessarily imply the act of benediction. We know moreover from Apuleius [1] that the orator in allocution would bend back the third and fourth fingers and stretch out the hand with the thumb and two first fingers extended. In Early Christian art accordingly we need not assume that this special gesture meant benediction. Here on the crosses the hand is too much damaged for us to be sure how the fingers were disposed. Differences are to be observed in the casts of drapery and in the treatment of the creatures beneath the feet. It has been noticed that the nimbus of the Ruthwell figure is cruciferous while that at Bewcastle lacks this indication. That the cast

[1] *Metam.* ii, 39.

RUTHWELL BEWCASTLE

PLATE XVII

THE CHRISTS AT RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE

of the drapery is different in the two figures is a remarkable testimony to the artistic endowment of the carver or carvers responsible for them, for it shows that there was nothing like mechanical reproduction either of one figure from the other, or of both from a common original. There is a distinction in the beasts, the legs of which are differently disposed on the two monuments. At Ruthwell the two inner forepaws cross between and below the heads, while at Bewcastle the outer paws appear on each side above the snouts. The two creatures bear a general resemblance to swine, but it must be confessed that their classification presents difficulties. The common identification of them with the unclean animal might stand were it not that the paw at Ruthwell which lies over the other paw ends in four distinctly modelled digits, whereas swine have cloven hoofs. The dog and the wolf were animals familiar, as the sceattas show, to the Anglo-Saxon artist, and either of these creatures might underlie the representation. There is however a suggestion offered by the words of the inscription given below (p. 131). 'Bestiae et Dracones' are there spoken of as recognizing Christ in the wilderness, and though the creatures have no dragon-like character they may be meant to stand for 'beasts' in general, in which case the artist would not trouble about specific characterization.

The two quadrupeds, whatever their specific designation, here take the place of the more familiar asp and basilisk, or young lion and dragon, as representing the spirit of evil, but the use of quadrupeds of this kind is either unique or at any rate so rare that it is unnoticed in any of the standard works on Christian antiquities.

Coming to the figure itself, we find ourselves in presence of one of the very best Christ effigies in Early Christian or early mediaeval art. It combines dignity with grace after the fashion of the early Gothic figures on the French cathedrals, and it exhibits that simplicity and freshness which were then in evidence but were so soon lost in the advancing art of the

later Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It possesses at the same time classical affinities, and if we compare it on the one side with French Gothic sculpture we may find on the other side resemblances between it and some of those late Hellenistic works of the Christian Orient to which Professor Strzygowski and others have recently directed attention. The proportions of the figure are those of classical sculpture of the best period for it is about seven heads high, and the cast of drapery is of the Early Christian type, the form being covered with a tunic reaching to the ankles and an ample cloak or paenula. The figure of Eusebius in the Rabula Codex of 586 in the Laurentian Library at Florence [1] is draped in a similar manner to that of the Bewcastle Christ. The type of head is the same in both cases, and even in the present weathered condition of the stone, though features are not to be made out there is a suggestion of beauty in the head which is especially to be noted in the Bewcastle example. It is impossible to detect any sign of a beard for there is no such break in the outline of the cheeks as a beard would have caused. On the other hand the Christ of the Ruthwell Cross possesses a well-marked moustache seen most conspicuously as it lies over the right cheek running back towards the angle of the jaw. The photograph, Pl. XVII, 1, shows it clearly, and the most careful examination with a magnifying glass confirms the impression that this is no accidental mark but a deliberately carved feature. It will be seen (p. 137) that there is a similar appearance on the face of the Christ with the blind man on the other side of the Ruthwell Cross, and special attention must be drawn to the fact that it is not merely the case that something like a moustache appears on the front of the faces. This might easily be due to irregular weathering on the stone. The point is that if we follow the surface of the cheek in both cases to the background from which the relief starts we see the projection of the end of the moustache distinctly outlined on the back-

[1] Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*, III, Tav. 129.

ground, an appearance impossible to be produced by accidental weathering, which in this inner part moreover has hardly affected the stone. What is said here can be verified not only on the cross itself but on any of the casts of it such as that in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It needs hardly to be said that the occurrence of the moustache on a head of the kind unaccompanied by a beard is a distinctively non-classical and barbarian trait. In Gaul, Italy and the Hellenistic East such a representation in sculpture would be highly improbable. It must at the same time be pointed out that the moustache on a beardless face occurs more than once on Byzantine coins of about VII, e.g. Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines*, Paris, 1862, I, Pl. xxi, 5, Justin II, 565-578; Pl. xxx, 7, Heraclius, c. 610; Pl. xxxiii, 7, Constans II, 641-668; p. 300 'Constant paraît déjà âgé et porte la moustache.' No Byzantine coin however shows a Christ head so treated.

The top and the two side margins of the lofty Ruthwell panel, which measures 3 ft. 6½ in. in height, bear a Latin inscription somewhat curiously arranged. It begins at the dexter end of the top margin with a cross followed by the name of Christ written in the form constantly used, IhS XPS, on which a word is said overpage. This is followed down the sinister margin by the title JUDEX · AEQVITATIS · after each of which words comes a point. The sequence is broken off here, and the continuation is found on the dexter margin beginning at the top under the cross, and runs as follows :— BESTIAE · ET · DRACONES · COgNOUERVNT · IN DE · to the bottom of the margin. A transference is then again made to the sinister side, and with the rest of the last word (DE)SERTO · the inscription proceeds from the full stop after AEQVITATIS · down to the bottom of this margin, ending SALVATOREM · MUNDI · The inscription, like all the others in Latin characters, is printed here in ordinary Roman lettering. The special shapes of the letters on the cross are given in Fig. 15 (p. 176). See also (p. 307). The occurrence

here of divisions by means of points between the words will be noticed, the points being placed in the middle of the height of the line. In this as in all the Latin inscriptions on the two broad faces of the shaft the letters on both vertical margins are cut so as to be read from a position at the dexter side of the panel, while about the IhS XPS there is the following to be said. The six letters are abbreviations of the name of Our Lord as written in Greek capitals ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ. Mediaeval scribes in the West, inexpert in the differences between the Greek and Latin alphabets, took the Eta (H) for the Latin aspirate (H), and when they wanted to write it in minuscules figured it as given on the cross 'h.' Similarly, the Greek Rho (P) was mistaken for the Latin P (P), and the Greek Chi (X) replaced by the Latin X which it resembles in form but not in phonetic value. To make IHS stand for 'Jesus Hominum Salvator' was quite an afterthought.

If the two effigies of Christ in Glory correspond in somewhat close fashion, there is a marked difference in the rest of the figure sculpture on the sister monuments. At Ruthwell there are three figure panels below the Christ and on the back of the shaft there are five, whereas at Bewcastle there are no figures on any part of the cross save the western face, and here besides the Baptist and the Christ there is only one other subject, though this is one of the most interesting in the whole repertory. Below the Christ at Bewcastle appears the important runic inscription of nine lines that has been so much discussed, and on which must largely depend our decision as to the date of the monument. It purports to give the names of three, or possibly four, Northumbrians who set up the cross in memory of King Alcfrith, a known historical personage of the last half of VII, and if this reading be accepted it practically carries with it the chronology of the crosses. It will be fully discussed in its place (p. 250 f.). At the foot of the shaft below the inscription, in a niche with rounded head like that of the Christ, is carved in fairly bold relief the figure of a Falconer.

He is standing, not full face like the two figures above him, but turned a little towards his left in an easy pose of some freedom and grace. The left hand and wrist are enclosed in a stout gauntlet and upon this is perched a bird of the falcon kind resembling that on the back of the upper arm of the Ruthwell cross head, Pl. xvi, 2 and (p. 123). There is some doubt whether the head of the bird is seen or whether it was represented covered with the hood which cloaks the head and eyes of a hawk. In a paper on the monument in the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmorland Society for 1893 it is stated that an attempt made in 1890 to take a mould of the shaft resulted in breaking off the head of the hawk, and it can be seen where a portion of the stone has here been split away. This makes a decision of the point here in question extremely difficult.

Below the bird is seen its perch, a T-shaped stand, very like that shown in old illustrated works on falconry, such as George Turberville's *Booke of Falconrie*, of 1575, or Simon Latham's *The Falcon's Lure*, of 1633, and in the right hand of the figure is held the stick which falconers used to beat the bushes where the quarry might have sought refuge. This is all a very direct and simple transcript from ordinary life and is frankly secular. The figure however, that wears the hair long, is robed in a very ample cloak down to the feet, a costume hardly suited to his supposed vocation but similar to that worn by the various sacred personages on the two monuments. It is the conviction of the present writer that the figure is really meant for John the Evangelist and the bird for his eagle, but that the carver delighting in the sport of falconry has enlivened the representation in a fashion in the highest degree unorthodox but at the same time spirited and original. To the question of the interpretation of the figure it will be necessary to return, but it may be pointed out here that the two figures of John, Baptist and Evangelist, accompany that of Christ on the principal face at Ruthwell, and that the Evangelist there is very unconventionally treated.

We return now to Ruthwell as it will be well to complete the notices of all the figure work displayed on the monuments. At Ruthwell the subject next below the Christ gives us the figures of the two early hermit saints of Egypt, Paul and Anthony, breaking between them a loaf of bread which has been brought to them in the desert by a raven. SCS · PAULUS · preceded by a Latin cross appears on the upper margin, and the letters ET · A which begin to descend the sinister margin can be readily extended to ANTONIUS EREMITAE, though the whole margin is here broken away to the bottom, and with it a considerable portion of the figure on the same side. The inscription FREGER T · PANEM IN DESERTO · runs down the dexter margin of the panel. Both figures have long hair. The breaking of the loaf is shown by a vertical groove in the middle betokening a fracture.

The words on the margin below the feet of the two saints, preceded by a Latin cross, MARIA · ET IO , all that is left of the inscription belonging to the next panel, prepare us for the subject of the representation which is the Flight into Egypt, Pl. XVIII. This must have been when perfect one of the best executed of the figure panels. The ass is well rendered and is in movement. It possesses a magnificent right ear. The left foreleg is broken away, and the condition of the surface of the right foreleg shown in relief against the background of the panel shows that the former was cut free of the ground. The figure of Mary is slender and graceful as she rides sideways upon the creature holding the child upon her knee. A portion of the nimbus, marked with a cross, against which the head of the Christ was relieved gives the scale of the figure which was of substantial size. The right hand of the mother is brought round and seems to be holding the hands of the child while her left arm gives support at the back. A veil falls from each side of her head down over the shoulders, and a rug or horsecloth on which she is seated is

PLATE XVIII

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, RUTHWELL

visible against the background underneath the body of the ass. In the upper dexter corner of the panel appears—not the head of Joseph—but the rounded top of a tree, a detail occurring in other representations of the subject.

Below the Flight there was evidently another figure subject occupying the lowest panel of the (present) northern face. The theme of the Nativity has been suggested, and this would correspond aptly with the Crucifixion which can be plainly made out on the lowest panel of the opposite, or southern, face. There are considerable traces of figures, apparently on rather a large scale, on this lowest northern panel, and one can imagine one sees on the dexter side the figure of the mother bending over the child while other figures are inclined in adoration in the same direction from the other side. It is probable however that no two observers would interpret in the same way the obscure indications on the worn and bruised surface of the stone.

The bottom of the principal face of the shaft has now been reached and attention must be transferred to the other side, which faces south. The work here on the back of the cross head has already been discussed (p. 124 f.).

Next in order we have a remarkable representation of the Visitation, though a portion from the middle part of the figures has been lost. The two female forms, draped in mantles drawn over the head and descending to the feet, probably with tunics under them, stand opposite each other and stretch out their arms to enfold each other in an embrace. Their feet are thrust into unmistakable 'sabots' or wooden shoes, and below there comes a plain piece of stone, original and in the same piece with the feet, four inches deep, the explanation of which is not easy, but, as noticed above (p. 127), some miscalculation in the placing of the figures on the panel may account for it. Part of the lower half of the figures has been lost and the defect is made good with modern stones. The runic inscriptions on side and top margins of this panel will

receive attention in a coming chapter (p. 195 f.). It must be observed that only about half of the original margins is preserved. In the lower part the stones are new.

The principal subject on this southern face, shown Pl. XIX, in a panel 2 ft. 8 in. high, is a figure of Christ with Mary Magdalene at His feet. The Christ, a majestic figure, lacks something of the grace and finish of the Christ in Glory on the other side of the cross. His right hand is raised in allocution or in benediction and the left veiled in the cloak holds a book. The hair, falling in wavy tresses to the shoulders, is better preserved than in the other figure but the features are worn away. The nimbus is cruciferous. The figure wears a tunic and an ample cloak, draped quite differently from the cloak of the Christ on the northern face.

The figure of the Magdalen is remarkable alike for boldness in conception and crudity in execution. She is only shown to the waist and at first sight looks as if she were kneeling, but the curved mass in front of the figure is really that of her hair, which with her right arm and hand she is pressing against the feet of Christ. The arm and hand are singularly awkward and the worst piece of figure work on the two crosses. The hand is a monstrosity when we compare it with the claws of the eagles on the upper panels which leave nothing to be desired in the matter of truth and delicacy. It may be remarked in passing that an Italian or even a Gallic carver would have been more at home with the human hand than with the claw of the bird.

The inscription, in Latin characters and in the language of the Vulgate, occupies all the four margins of the panel beginning at the dexter end of the uppermost margin, continuing down that on the sinister side, then resuming at the top on the dexter side just under the beginning on the uppermost margin and descending this margin, finally to finish along the bottom. It is less sharply cut than that on the northern face, and the characters are rather smaller and less well formed.

PLATE XIX

CHRIST AND MARY MAGDALENE, RUTHWELL

There is no separation between the words either by spacing or, save in one case, by the use of a point. The letters that are legible are A STRVMVNgVENTI& STANS RETRO SECUS PEDES EIUS LACRIMIS COEPIT RIGARE PEDES EIUS·&CAPILLIS CAPITIS SUI TERGEBAT,[1] and the characters are $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. high. The carver had made some miscalculation in regard to his spacing and had not sufficient room to finish in the same capitals his last word TERGEBAT. The stone is a good deal worn here, but the finish is clearly the contraction referred to (p. 178), and it was for economy of space that there are no divisions indicated between the words, save one point after the word EIUS coming before &CAPILLIS.

Next below follows the subject of Christ healing the blind man treated with three-quarter length figures, with a plain panel underneath that seems intended for an inscription. Both figures have long hair and ample cloaks and Christ wears the cruciferous nimbus.[2] There are distinct indications on His face of a moustache (p. 130). The blind man who is bearded stands rigidly upright and in profile, but Christ, seen almost in three-quarter view, leans a little forward in accordance with the action at the moment selected. The right arm is advanced and over it fall the heavy folds of the cloak. This hand, it has been suggested, held a rod with which the eyes of the blind man were being touched, while the left hand is brought round to the front underneath the other. This hand is disproportionately large but is boldly carved and the artist has evidently taken pains with it. In the very numerous examples of this subject in Early Christian sculpture Christ places the fingers of His right hand upon the eyes of the blind

[1] ATTULIT ALABASTRUM UNGUENTI ET STANS RETRO SECUS PEDES EJUS LACRIMIS COEPIT RIGARE PEDES EJUS ET CAPILLIS CAPITIS SUI TERGEBAT.

[2] The cross is indicated here by two parallel incised lines, whereas there are three lines in the case of the nimbus of the two other figures of Christ on the monument.

man and holds in His left a cross or a scroll. Here at Ruthwell the right arm would not be long enough for this, and the left hand is not holding any object. Hence the arrangement of the subject here is abnormal if not unique. At the part where these figures are cut off there was a fracture of the stone, and when the cross was put together by Dr Duncan some cement was used for the purpose of making up. By an error the folds of the drapery of the two figures have been prolonged in this material so as to encroach on the space of the plain panel, which seems to have originally ended in a straight edge under the figures without any border. This panel measures 12 in. in height by an average width of 14 in., and is sunk $\frac{3}{8}$ in. below the surface of the side margins and the one underneath, which are used, the two former for parts of the inscription explanatory of the scene of healing, the last for the inscription referring to the figure subject next below. The surface of the panel is not uniform for it curves forward a little in the upper portion of it, and it is not dressed smooth but is covered with neat pick-marks. Now those parts of the stone where there are inscriptions, as on the margins round the various panels, were evidently dressed very smooth before the inscriptions were cut, and the panel with which we are concerned has certainly not been so prepared, for the surface is far from having the same smoothness. This fact, and the curvature of the surface suggest that there may once have been an inscription here which has been carefully chiselled out and the surface dressed down with the pick. This was certainly not a part of the iconoclastic work of XVII, but it is quite possible that at the Reformation, though the monument itself was spared, a Latin inscription offensive to Protestant eyes was judicially effaced. No trace of former lettering can however be discerned at present on the panel. The theory that the surface was prepared for an inscription never actually cut is unlikely in view of the finished character of the whole monument and the abundant and carefully cut lettering on other parts of it. The

PLATE XX

THE ANNUNCIATION, RUTHWELL

marginal inscription here is a good deal broken away. It begins at the top of the dexter vertical margin after a Latin cross, with the words ET PRAETERIENS · VIDI after which the margin is broken. We resume at the top of the sinister margin A NATIBITATE ET SA and then after another break B INFIRMITATE. The words are not an exact quotation but are suggested by the opening verses of the 9th chapter of St John.

The impression of grace and ease which we have already derived from the figure of Christ with His feet on the heads of beasts is intensified when we turn our attention to the next figure panel, which comes below the plain panel just noticed and is figured on Pl. xx. The subject here is the Annunciation shown by the two figures of the Angel and Mary. When this was perfect there can have been few representations of the theme in Christian art so poetic in its expressive simplicity. What lightness and elasticity in the celestial intruder, what grace in the slender form of Mary drawn a little back with head shyly dropped but poised so charmingly! The gesture of her right arm with the hand upon her bosom suggests a slightly deprecating movement, that contrasts most effectively with the impulsive advance of the angel. Mary, who seems to be wearing a cloak as well as a tunic, is drawing a fold of the former round her with the left hand, the gesture carrying out the idea of modest retirement. The long tress of hair seen on the right side of her figure is a conspicuous feature. The contrast in the actions of the feet of the two figures is noteworthy. The left one of the angel is seen in profile and suggests a turning movement towards the Virgin, whereas Mary's feet are apparently represented as facing the spectator in an attitude of rest. The composition has been well thought out and the whole gives us the impression of maturity.

It is most unfortunate that this panel has suffered such injury, for with the Christ and the Flight into Egypt it evidently contained the best figure work on the monument. The

inscription began at the dexter side of the upper margin of the panel and the words here faintly legible are INGRESSUS ANGEL, but as the I is 3½ in. from the edge of the margin there is room before it for the ET with which the Vulgate account of the scene begins. The side and the bottom margins are broken or worn away but at the top of that on the dexter side are some fragmentary letters which may be read TECUM · BE. Now the passage in the Vulgate, Luke i, 28, runs ET INGRESSUS ANGELUS AD EAM DIXIT: AVE, GRATIA PLENA; DOMINUS TECUM; BENEDICTA TU IN MULIERIBUS. Measuring by the space occupied by the letters INGRESSUS it is found that the rest of the top and the sinister margin would accommodate the above words down to DOMINUS, while there would be room on the dexter margin for the rest. This would leave the margin beneath the feet of the figures free for an inscription relating to the subject below, which is that of the Crucifixion. If the letters here were on the scale of MARIA on the north side there would be room on this margin for the words CRUCIFIXERUNT EUM, words that are specially emphasized in the Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts.

It is the lowest panel on this, the present southern, face of the cross, that offers this subject of the Crucifixion. The form and dimensions of this part have been given (p. 105). Full advantage of the space here afforded was taken, and the Cross of Christ with the figure upon it is displayed on a comparatively large scale. The upright stem is about 7 in. wide, the cross arms about 4 in. wide, the figure nearly 3 ft. high. Here again the damage has been disastrous, and of the head and arms of the figure little remains, though there is some indication that the former was bearded. The lower part is better preserved and enables us to see that the figure was nude save for a small piece of drapery apparently folded round the loins and knotted at the right-hand side below the waist, thus forming a short skirt or kilt that ends above the knees.

The legs below are well drawn and are not crossed. What else there was upon the panel is not easy to say. The orb of one of the two chief heavenly bodies is apparent on the sinister side above the arm of the cross, and the other may be assumed. Below on both sides of the stem of the cross there were representations, and some have seen here the two crosses of the thieves, others the figures of soldiers, etc., but it is not possible to arrive at any decision.

The figure subjects now passed in review are confined to the two broader faces of the shaft, and on the narrower sides, now east and west, the ornamentation is composed of animals and foliage. Here, and on the east face of the Bewcastle cross which is one of the broader faces, we have what is on the whole, both for design and execution, one of the best examples in early mediaeval sculpture of the foliage scroll with animals pecking at the fruit, a motive popular from the earliest Christian times down to the Gothic epoch. On the Bewcastle cross there is a single panel the whole height of the shaft, but at Ruthwell there are on each side two panels one on each of the two original sections of the shaft, the decoration being the same on both. The foliage is designed in the scroll form familiar in later classical art, on which a word will be said (p. 273 f.). The pecking animals are not only the birds of the orthodox classical tradition but quadrupeds and also fantastic creatures whose tails end sometimes in foliage. The squirrel makes his appearance, and also the otter, but there is no instance of the fox, which on the strength of the text ' the little foxes that spoil the grapes ' is sometimes introduced in a design of this kind, as on a Sasanian silver vase in the British Museum.

The statistics are as follows. At Bewcastle there are, counting from below, a complete quadruped, two fantastic mammals with only forelegs, two birds, and two squirrels. At Ruthwell the western face gives us, lower panel, from below, a bird with fantastic tail, an otter, two birds, two fantastic

mammals; upper panel, a bird, and, possibly, a squirrel; on the eastern face the lowest remaining scroll no doubt contained an animal but it cannot now be made out; next comes a curiously formed quadruped that is possibly an otter, then two birds and lastly two partly fantastic mammals; a partly preserved quadruped and a bird survive in the upper panel. The creatures turn their heads alternately to right and left. There is a charming variety in these animals, and their heads with the action of pecking or of biting are natural and spirited. On the west side where the plinth has its full projection, it can be seen that there was conventional foliage on the plinth also below the shoulder where it receded by a set-off for the shaft, but the exact scheme of the design is in this portion not easy to make out. From the level of the first of the animals however the stem and its offshoots are clearly defined. On the upper stone, above the original joint, the work is not so well preserved as on the lower. The same is true of the east side, though here the plinth has been cut away and all indications of work upon it are lost. The questions of the nature of the foliage, that is to say, of the particular plant that has been subjected to the process of conventionalization, and of the animal forms, will receive attention later on (p. 273 f.). The sinister side of Pl. XXIII gives a specimen of the work.

The upright margins of the lower panels of the narrow sides and the horizontal margins bounding them above are covered with inscriptions in the runic characters. These characters are about 2 in. high and where the surface of the stone has not received actual damage they are perfectly clear and legible. There were similar inscriptions on the margins of the upper panels but they are very imperfectly preserved. Owing to this the purport of what is written on these upper panels is quite obscure, but on the other hand the content of the inscriptions round the lower panels is clearly made out and is of the highest possible interest. The matter here is a portion

of an Anglo-Saxon poem that occurs elsewhere in a more extended form, and the existence of this fuller version makes it possible to restore with practical certainty parts of the inscription of the cross that have been accidentally damaged. The inscription in its literary and epigraphic aspects receives full attention elsewhere (p. 203 f.). It is noteworthy that the execution of the runic letters is exactly the same as that of the Roman characters on the other two faces of the stone. In each case the lines of the letters are finished at each end with a kind of dot, not made with a drill but with a pick, and the cutting as regards depth and sharpness is similar, so that the same workman or workmen may have incised both the Latin majuscules and the runes. A further point is worthy of notice. In the matter of both the Latin and the runic inscriptions there are differences in each case in the work on opposite faces. The Latin lettering on the principal, now the northern, face is larger, bolder, and better spaced than on the southern face. There are as a rule points between the words, and the ET is inscribed without contraction, while on the southern face words are run together without separation and the ET is twice contracted. In the case of the runes there is also a difference. On the present eastern face the runic characters are smaller than on the western—1¾ in. to 2 in. in the one case, 2 in. to 2¼ in. in the other—so that in the space from the top of the lateral margins to the place where the stone has been fractured and repaired with cement there are on the eastern face 22 lines of runes and on the western only 18. See the illustration, Fig. 17 (p. 204), where the spacing has been copied with as much accuracy as was practicable. It is curious that on the eastern face the lines of characters on the two margins correspond horizontally, but on the western face they are not exactly on the same levels. It should not be omitted that there are alterations in two of the characters on the east and west faces of the cross. One was originally cut as an E, see dexter column, east face, half-way up,

Fig. 17, but was altered to a U. The other, level with it in the N.W. column, was changed from G to Œ (pp. 208, 211).

At Ruthwell it will be noticed that in the general scheme the two broader faces with the figure sculpture bear the Latin inscriptions, while the margins on the narrow faces are devoted to the runes. The latter however overflow, as it were, on to the broader faces and occur on the present south side, formerly the east face or the back, on the top arm of the cross round the panel with the bird, and also on the margins of the panel of the Visitation below the cross head, and perhaps on the Archer panel. All the rest of the writing on these two principal faces is in the Latin language and characters. This overflow is an additional proof of the intimate connection between the two sets of inscriptions. On the other hand on the Bewcastle cross the only inscriptions are in the runic letters, and when we compare the Ruthwell runic inscriptions with those at Bewcastle we find that there are certain marked differences. The differences in the forms of the characters will be noticed later on, but some note may be taken here of distinctions in technique of cutting and in arrangement. The incisions at Bewcastle are now owing to weathering shallower than at Ruthwell, and the lines do not end with the same pronounced dot or round depression. The whole surface of the stone is, as already explained, far more weathered, and as a consequence the characters are not so easy to decipher, though it is quite a mistake to assume that they cannot on an average be made out with a substantial degree of certainty (p. 199). They differ moreover from the Ruthwell letters in the variety they present in their sizes. At Ruthwell the letters are all about the same height, approximately a couple of inches, and most of them are cut in a situation somewhat awkwardly chosen, in successive very short lines across the narrow vertical strips of the side margins. This accounts for the tall and narrow shape of the characters, which are on the Bewcastle cross broader and more openly spaced than

here at Ruthwell. At Bewcastle too the arrangement of the runes is more studied. The characters in the first place vary in size according to their distance from the eye, some of those on the uppermost parts of the shaft measuring as much as 4 or 5 in. in height. The letters giving the title of Christ above His figure on the western face and those in the long inscription of nine lines beneath this figure which are nearly on the level of the eye measure about $2\frac{3}{4}$ to 3 in. The spaces apportioned to the inscriptions are regularly schemed out and appear to carry further the idea of a special inscribed panel which we find on a modest scale on the back of the Ruthwell shaft, under the figures of Christ and the blind man.

There remain to be described the two narrow faces of the Bewcastle shaft which are divided up in each case into five panels separated by horizontal margins on which runic characters can be identified with varying degrees of assurance. One word which can be read with absolute certainty is of great historical importance. On the southern face there are two panels of foliage and three filled with interlacing work while on the north the place of one of these last is taken by a large panel of chequer pattern. This motive figures largely in the controversies about the date of the cross because it at once suggests a Norman origin. Questions of date must however be reserved, and here it needs only to be said that the panel measures 3 ft. 3 in. in height with a breadth tapering from 13 to $11\frac{1}{2}$ in., the chequers show four sunk squares and four squares flush with the surface of the panel in each of the twenty-five horizontal rows, and each square will average about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. The sinkings are $\frac{3}{8}$ in. deep.

The foliage panels, of great interest from their originality and artistic merit, cannot be fully discussed without entry upon questions of date and provenance that must for the moment be reserved. From the artistic standpoint few who regard the composition of their lines and distribution of the masses can fail to pay them a tribute of admiration. This

applies specially to the lower panel on the southern face, shown on Pl. XXI, and also to that in a similar position on the north that is very hard to photograph but will be shown later on (p. 280). What sort of foliage it is will presently be considered, but though there is considerable variety of treatment through the various panels the essential character of the foliage remains the same on Ruthwell east and west and Bewcastle east, north, and south. There is a certain feeling for natural growth in the manner in which the designer starts his plant stem from a good massive root. It is sometimes a single stem, as Ruthwell east and west and Bewcastle east with the upper panels north and south; sometimes double as in the remaining Bewcastle panels. In these last cases two stems start from the two lower corners and either cross each other (Bewcastle south) or are opposed (Bewcastle north). Both are largely designed, and in the former the stem divides at once into three, the different branches here as in the upper part of the panel interpenetrating. These stems give off branches, the point of departure being sometimes enveloped in a sheath, and the branches end in terminal leaves or flowers or bunches of berries or fruit, in the design of which there is considerable variety and evidence of a marked individual taste. A fuller discussion of the foliage is reserved for Chapter X.

The upper foliage panel on the south face contains a sundial very tastefully placed in relation to its surroundings. There is the hole for the insertion of the gnomon and an incised horizontal line drawn through it marks the upper limit of the semicircle of the dial. The semicircle below is divided into four equal spaces by lines radiating from the centre each of which is distinguished by a short cross-piece near its end. Each of the four spaces again is divided into three by two plain incised lines. Comment on the detail is reserved (p. 173).

The last details to notice are the panels of interlacing work numbering five in all on the north and south faces at Bewcastle.

PLATE XXI

BEWCASTLE CROSS, LOWER PART OF SOUTH SIDE

With the exception of some small but highly significant examples of such work on pagan tomb furniture of VII [1] these are the first instances which have presented themselves to us of a motive that plays a large, even predominant part in Anglo-Saxon and Celtic work on stone and on the vellum pages of the manuscripts. The fact that it occurs at Bewcastle but is absent from the sister monument which we shall see reason to regard as the earlier of the two may be held to show that the fashion of this kind of enrichment for stone was at the time only coming in. In any case the work is so characteristic of manuscript decoration of the Hiberno-Saxon school that it will be more suitable to discuss it in this connection than in its association as a quite subsidiary element with the enrichment of the two crosses with which we are at the moment concerned.

[1] See Vol. III, p. 294, and postea (p. 378 f.).

CHAPTER VI

THE RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE CROSSES: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS. (1) THE CRUCIFORM MONUMENT IN GENERAL; THE RUTHWELL CROSS HEAD; THE GEOMETRICAL ORNAMENT AT BEWCASTLE

Up to this point what has been essayed is a full and accurate description of the two monuments, with indications of the aesthetic quality of the decorative work with which they are clothed. It is now necessary to subject the elements of this work to a critical analysis aimed at establishing the provenance and the chronology of the various forms and motives that have been already passed in review. The following order appears both logical and convenient. In the first place there will be noticed the cruciform monument as a general motive especially from the points of view of date and provenance, and next the form of the Ruthwell cross head similarly envisaged. The geometrical ornament on the Bewcastle cross will naturally follow. Considerable space must then be occupied with a study of the form and content of the inscriptions both Latin and runic upon the two crosses, and for this part of the work the pen will at times be transferred to the hand of the collaborator in this volume, the author's academic colleague Prof. Blyth Webster, late of the Department of English Language and Literature in the University of Edinburgh. A critique of the foliage and animal sculpture, and finally of the figure sculpture with its iconography and its style, will conclude this section of a long but, it is believed, interesting and important study.

Following upon this will come a section dealing with the topography and history of this Northumbrian region from

VII onwards, in the light of which it will be possible to determine at what epochs the execution of monuments of this kind was reasonably possible in the North, and at what periods the outward circumstances of the times would almost necessarily have precluded any such achievement. A final section will be devoted to a general summing up of the evidence in its bearing on the main questions of date and provenance. The answer to these questions will be that the archaeological and historical evidence points to a date in the latter part of VII, though from the purely philological point of view the Ruthwell inscription would be located about a generation or so later. From both standpoints the evidence of Anglian authorship is reasonably convincing.

The first question with which we have now to deal concerns the general form of the monuments as free-standing crosses in stone, and the second the particular shape of the one (partly) surviving cross head, at Ruthwell. These two questions involve the archaeology of the forms and decorative treatment of the cross in art, a subject on which something has already been said. In the previous discussion (p. 83 f.), the only examples noticed were (1) delineated crosses, painted, incised, or carved in relief, for purposes religious or decorative, and (2) crosses in the round, but on a very small scale and in metal. We have now to deal with crosses in the round on a monumental scale made of stone or timber. In these, material and scale will be seen to have a considerable effect on the resultant forms.

It was noticed that the section of the shafts of the two crosses is oblong and not square, and that this is in general characteristic of cross shafts though it is by no means universal. As a rule these have greater extension of surface at the front and back than at the sides, and exhibit to this extent the character of slabs. Some morphologists would substitute for 'exhibit' the word 'retain,' and would explain the phenomenon by drawing out a scheme of the evolution of the free-

standing cross. First we should have unhewn or rudely shaped monoliths on which a small cross is incised, alone or accompanying an inscription. Next the cross becomes more important, and occupies a predominant position on the slab, being often carved in relief and not merely incised. A further advance is made when the form of the slab is affected, it may be by rounding its top so that the outline is adjusted to an imaginary half-circle joining the terminals of the transom and upper arm of the incised or carved cross; or by cutting sinkings into the slab or else piercing it with openings, where the arms of the cross come together at the centre; or again by extending the ends of the arms a little beyond the main outline of the rounded top of the slab. Later on, so it is assumed, this process is continued, and the cross form is gradually extracted from the slab and rendered in all its proportions as a solid thing of three dimensions. A reminiscence of the slab is however still retained in that the cross is wider at the front and back than at the sides. Naturally such an evolution would take time, and the free-standing cross would be a much later product than the slab with incised or modelled cross on its face. Hence a morphologist following this train of thought might argue against an early date for the crosses under discussion on the assumption that they must have been preceded by cross slabs from which they were gradually evolved.

Underlying such an argument there are two fallacies. It is true that all these morphologically intermediate forms occur and may be found exemplified in the various regions where the carved crosses occur, such as South Wales or the Isle of Man.

We might number them 1, 2, 3, etc., as representing stages in this presumed evolution, but it would be the height of temerity to assume that the order is a chronological one. Primitive-looking forms may be quite late, as for example on Dartmoor or in West Cornwall, where cruciform monuments of a very inchoate kind are apparently of mediaeval or even

more modern date. There are reasons moreover based on the known facts of art history which account for the appearance at very early epochs of highly elaborate monuments (p. 287 f.).

Furthermore, and the crux of the whole situation is here, the real starting point is distinctly *not* the incised cross on a slab, for this is merely a representation of the real original, the free-standing cross of three dimensions, a solid thing that can be seen all round and handled. Let the reader cast his thoughts back for a moment to the scene described by Bede [1] when King Oswald before the battle of Heavenfield set up partly with his own hands a wooden cross as a pledge of the coming victory. Did he start by incising an outline on a board? Did he not rather in the directest manner possible reproduce in a rough form but in all its dimensions the traditional object of Christian adoration? It must be remembered that portable crosses, of slight make but of a size admitting of public display, were in the form of 'processional crosses' quite familiar objects. Augustine introduced the fashion of them when he had such a cross borne before him on his well-staged entry into Canterbury, and crosses of such a kind are constantly represented on the Anglo-Saxon sceat coins of about VII, see Vol. III, Pl. IV, 5, 8, 14, 16; Pl. VI, 1, 2, 3, 7, etc. They seem as a rule to be equal-armed crosses mounted upon staves, and generally show the mark of the junction of the two. Vol. III, Pl. VI, 19, seems to exhibit such a cross furnished with a three-pronged foot by which it might be planted in the earth—a significant advance in the direction of the permanent monument. Oswald's cross at Heavenfield was planted in the earth but might have been taken up and carried along with the army. It was probably formed of a roughly squared log a portion of which had been cut off and fixed across for a transom. Such as it was it remained as a permanent memorial—'on wurðmynte ðær stod,' 'in honour

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 2.

there it stood' are the words in Ælfric's Life of Oswald [1]— and it certainly exercised a notable influence, for Bede records how the Hexham brethren held anniversary festivals at the site, and how the material of it even to Bede's own time was being whittled away by those who sought for chips of the miracle-working wood. It may have been renewed in the interval but Bede knew it evidently as a cross of timber. It was the first cross of the kind, so he tells us, that had been set up in Northumbria, and it is worth while asking how far it represented a new departure altogether in the matter of Christian monuments, or merely the extension to Anglian Bernicia of a custom already observed or even established in other provinces of the Church in these islands. The mobile cross of the processional type may be presupposed everywhere, but with regard to the permanent monument of commemorative or of hortatory or deictic purpose we have for the early days to rely on the kind of evidence previously noticed (p. 38 f.) that must be used with caution but is on the whole fairly convincing.

The Lives of the early saints have shown us that pagan stone monuments were either used *simpliciter* for Christian purposes, or were consecrated by the symbol of the cross, probably incised upon them as in the case of the Welsh stone (p. 47), shown later, Fig. 11, 1. The erection of a cross as an independent memorial is in the same documents constantly mentioned, and seeing that the Christian employment of pagan forms of monument must in the nature of things be an early phenomenon, for a later editor would never have imagined a proceeding so unorthodox, we may safely assume in a sufficient number of cases a similar early date for the first monumental crosses. Adamnan wrote before the end of VII, and in the chapter recording the death of Columba, bk. iii, ch. 23, we read, 'After this the saint goes out of the granary, and, returning to the monastery, sits down at

[1] Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, E.E.T.S., No. 94, p. 127, line 31.

the half-way, in which place a cross, afterwards fixed in a millstone, and standing at this day, is to be seen on the side of the road.' Bede's *Life of Cuthbert* may be taken as of contemporary authority, and the account of the saint's death, which occurred in 687, he derived from an eye-witness.[1] In connection with this we have recorded in ch. 37 of the *Life* the words of Cuthbert about his obsequies—'Cum autem Deus susciperit animam meam, sepelite me in hac mansione juxta oratorium meum ad meridiem, contra orientalem plagam Sanctae Crucis, quam ibidem erexi'—'the holy Cross which I set up there.' These two crosses, it matters little whether they were of wood or stone, were certainly free-standing solid pieces of three dimensions not modifications of earlier slabs, and were certainly set up in or before VII, the Iona example going back to near the time of Columba, †597, of whose last hours it may have been a memorial. Equally well attested are some of the numerous crosses mentioned in the documents relating to St Patrick. Those contained in the *Book of Armagh* written in 807 are of course early, and the statements associated with the name of Tírechán, which form part of this MS., are derived from an informant, bishop Últán, who died in 656.[2] One of these statements by Tírechán [3] is to the effect that 'Patrick went to the well of Mucno . . . and Secundinus was sitting apart alone under a leafy elm. And there is the sign of the cross in that place to this day'—'et est signum Crucis in eo loco usque in hunc diem.' Another document of the last half of VII included in the *Book of Armagh* describes the extraordinary self-immolation of Patrick's old master Miliuc, who burned himself in his palace with all his possessions,[4] while Patrick watched the conflagration from a spot

[1] Herefrid, abbot of Lindisfarne. *Bedae Opera Historica*, ed. Stevenson, Lond., 1841, vol. II, p. 117 f.

[2] *Tripartite Life of St Patrick*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Rolls Series, 89_1, p. xci.

[3] ibid., 89_2, p. 321.

[4] His Irish honour was so sensitive that he could not live to be preached to by one who had been his slave! *Tripartite Life*, p. 39.

'where to this day there is a cross for a token'—'ubi nunc crux habetur in signum.' A notice attesting an early use of the cross as sepulchral monument occurs in Tírechán.[1] Patrick notices a cross on a grave and asks 'Who is buried here?' The occupant obediently replies that he is a heathen, and explains how in error a cross intended for the tomb of a Christian had been set up over his bones. On another occasion Patrick points out the site of a tomb and 'placed a cross there'—'digito suo signavit locum et crucem posuit ibi.'[2] For the South of England the erection of crosses to mark preaching stations is attested for VII by a passage quoted earlier in this work, Vol. I, p. 255. The funereal crosses set up on the occasion of the burial procession of St Aldhelm of Sherborne carry us into VIII,[3] but are good evidence for an earlier period. The South or rather the Midland district supplies us with the remains at any rate of a funereal monument of VII of which a free-standing cross seems to have formed a part. This is the inscribed memorial to Ovinus the steward of Queen Ethelfrith, an East Anglian princess who married Ecgfrith of Northumbria and afterwards founded the monastery at Ely. Ovinus, of whom Bede draws a sympathetic picture in chapter 3 of his book iv, followed the fortunes of both Ethelfrith and bishop Ceadda of Litchfield, but was evidently an East Anglian by birth and was eventually buried near Ely. A stone inscribed with his name was found in XVIII at Hadenham, a royal vill in that vicinity, and brought in by Bentham, the historian of the Ely establishment, and placed in the cathedral where it is now to be seen. See Pl. XXII.

The evidence here given of monumental crosses dating in VII and earlier centuries will certainly predispose a fair-minded reader to accept as genuinely archaic many of the numerous notices of such crosses in the Lives of Saints put

[1] *Tripartite Life*, 89_2, p. 325. [2] ibid., p. 326.
[3] W. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, 52, bk. v, p. 383.

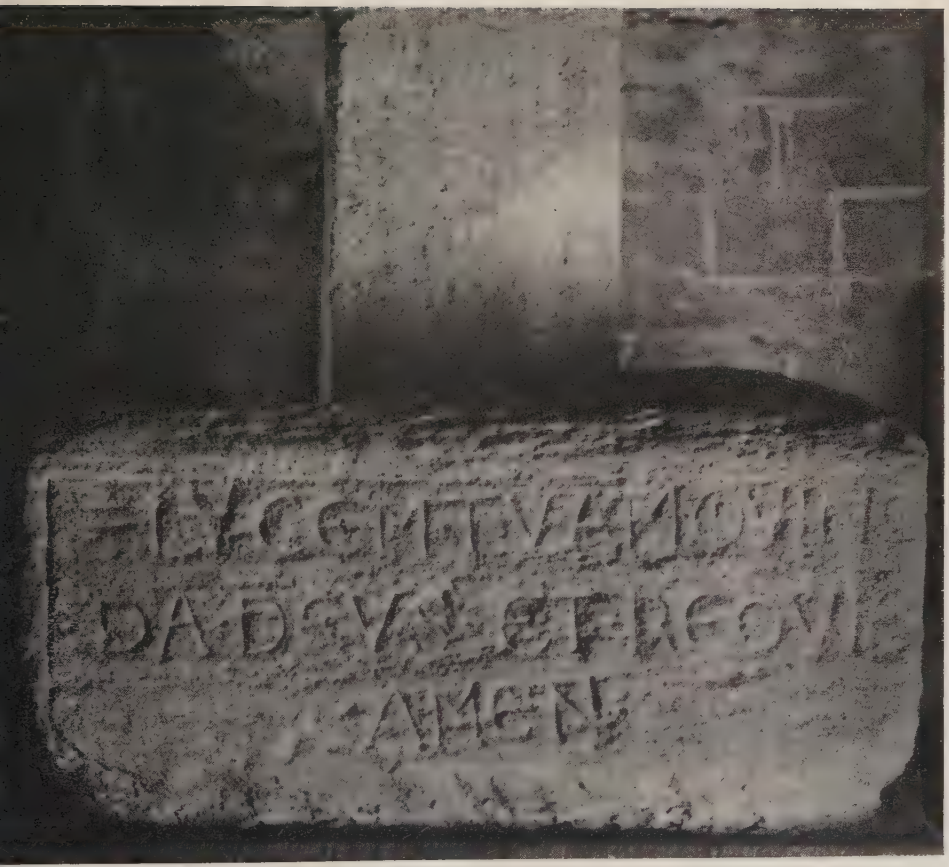

PLATE XXII

ELY CATHEDRAL, MONUMENT TO OVINUS

together from primitive material by mediaeval hagiologists. The notices are most numerous in the Lives of the Irish saints and are disappointingly rare in the Welsh Lives. On the other hand the Life of the great apostle of Strathclyde, Kentigern, as noticed before (Vol. 1, p. 163) is so prolific in such information that it is a fundamental document for the study on which we are at present engaged. The historical value of the Life has been already vindicated (p. 40).

It is therefore with some confidence that we can treat the notices of crosses in the hagiographs as referring to really early examples of about VI. The crosses are mentioned in different connections, and a rough analysis gives the following results. We may distinguish (1) crosses marking localities in the country districts no special name being given to them; (2) crosses set up beside dwellings or in enclosures; (3) crosses connected with the names of saints by whom or in whose honour they were erected; (4) crosses that commemorate (a) meetings of saints, (b) secular events, (c) miracles; (5) funereal crosses; (6) crosses proclaiming the Gospel or marking preaching stations.

(1) The namelessness of these country crosses may be taken as an argument for their archaic character, but it is also possible that the mention of them was put in by later editors who knew Ireland at the time when in XI and XII it was covered with crosses. Thus in a passage in Patrick's Life not apparently attested as of early date [1] we are told that on his travels he would fare to every cross he came to or even saw from a distance, and apparently would pray at them all—a vague and general statement we are inclined to discredit. On the other hand, the 'small mound with a cross thereon,' called after Patrick's name,[2] seems archaic and reminds us of what was noticed before (p. 43 f.). St Munna, who died in 635, 'went out to the Leinster region and on a certain night

[1] *Tripartite Life*, p. 125.

[2] ibid., p. 139.

remained beside the crosses in the field of Methe.'[1] In the Life of St Cadoc, one of the great Welsh triumvirate of VI,[2] we read that something happened 'near the cross which is in the middle of the way and known to many.'[3] A locality near Aberystwyth was called Crux Agan.[4] In Patrick's Life there is mention of the southern and the northern cross near Oenach Macha (Navan near Armagh).[5] Patrick meets his sister Lupait in tragic circumstances 'and she cast herself down on her knees before the chariot in the place where the cross stands in Both Arcall.'[6] A 'Cross of the Angels' is mentioned in the Life of St Carthach as being in the country.[7]

(2) The cross appears to have stood at times outside the door of a building, somewhat after the fashion of the pillar representing Apollo Aguieus by the portal of the old Greek mansion. In the archaic life of St Maedoc, or Aidus, printed by Rees, we see the saint writing out a psalm for a certain boy 'by the cross at the door of the abbot's house.'[8] There is a cross too before Patrick's house.[9] The 'most holy father' Finan on different occasions healed five paralytics 'beside the cross which is at the gate of his monastery.'[10] In the Life of St Comgall who was born in Ulster but educated in a monastery far away in southern Ireland, after a touching reference to a wave of home-sickness that came over him with great and hard travail of the spirit,[11] we are shown the youthful saint praying in tears beside the cross 'which is in

[1] *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Plummer, 2 vols., Oxford, 1910, II, 231. Hereafter referred to as 'Plummer.'

[2] What was known as 'the second order of Irish Saints' derived their inspiration and teaching in large measure from the three great saints of Wales, David, Gildas, and Cadoc.

[3] Rees, *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853, p. 389.

[4] Rees, l.c., Life of Cybi, p. 509.

[5] *Tripartite Life*, p. 239. [6] ibid., p. 235. [7] Plummer, I, 193.

[8] Rees, l.c., p. 569. [9] *Tripartite Life*, p. 237. [10] Plummer, II, 95.

[11] 'tedium magnum in corde ejus circa patriam suam et parentes . . . sustinens laborem magnum et durum,' Plummer, II, 4.

the western part of the monastery of Chiam Edhneach.'[1] There a divine light shone round him and he was filled with joy so that the yearning passed away for ever. In the time of the early saint, Enda of Aran, who lived in the latter part of V and early part of VI, a holy virgin approaches for purpose of adoration the cross that was by the church in a monastery in Co. Armagh.[2]

(3) Crosses associated with the names of particular saints form naturally an interesting class. We know as a fact that the connection of a saint with a cross bearing his name need have no historical basis, and the monument may have been set up centuries after his time. In the churchyard at Kells in Ireland there stands a cross inscribed with the names of Patrick and Columba but the work shows it to be some centuries later. At the same time, when we are so often told in the Lives that such a saint set up a cross, we should expect his name would cling to it almost from the first. We are told of St Becan, of about VI, that at the monastery of Cluain Aird, Co. Tipperary, he made for himself 'a cross of stone apart in an open place,' at which he performed religious exercises, and it is added, 'which is now held in high honour.'[3] In the *Book of Lismore*, in the Life of Ciaran of Clonmacnois, it is stated that 'Brigit prophesied him when she beheld the flame and the angel fifty years before Ciaran, in the place whereon Brigit's crosses stand to-day.'[4] 'Patrick's cross' is mentioned in the *Tripartite Life*, with another cross to the west of it,[5] but the entry may not be a very early one. In the Aberdeen Breviary there are given readings from an apparently very early Life of a saint whose Scottish name is Wynnin and who died in 579. He comes from Ireland and settles at what is now Kilwinning in Ayrshire, where he was buried in the

[1] Clonenagh, Queen's County.
[2] Plummer, II, 63.
[3] Plummer, I, 17.
[4] *Lives from the Book of Lismore*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Oxford, 1890, p. 264.
[5] p. 131.

church called after his name. 'There stood,' we are told, 'before the church a cross of stone wonderfully wrought, which St Wynnin himself had set up in his lifetime with his own hands in honour of the blessed virgin Brigid.'[1] The saint has been identified with the Irish St Finnian of Moville, whose death year is also given as 579. Of another more famous Finnian, of Clonard, of whom the saints of Ireland are said to have been 'alumni,'[2] and who died in 549, we read in his Life in the Codex Salmanticiensis at Brussels, that at his baptism 'in loco vero ubi infans benedictus lavacro salutis est purificatus crux posita est, quæ Crux Finniani vocatur.'[3] The place of the death of St Carthach was marked by a holy cross called 'crux migrationis.'[4]

(4a) Certain standing crosses are said to have been set up to commemorate meetings or conferences of saints. St Maedoc, a Connaught saint, who died in 626, following the example of many of his countrymen went over for instruction and edification to Menevia in South Wales, where St David, who died about 601, was invested with a quasi-archiepiscopal dignity. On one occasion David went out to meet his guest whom he saw advancing amidst a guardian cohort of angels. 'Ibi crux stat usque hodie,' adds the narrator.[5] Adamnan tells us in his *Life of Columba*[6] that Ernan, an old man, a friend of the saint, was coming back to him after absence, but fell down and died just before he reached Columba. 'Wherefore,' he goes on, 'in the same place a cross has been fixed before the door of the kiln, and another cross stands in like manner fixed in where the saint stood still where Ernan died.' In the Life of St Enda of Aran we are told that a cross was

[1] *Brev. Aberdon.*, Bannatyne Club, Lond., 1854. Pars Hyemalis: Proprium Sanctorum, fol. xxxviii-ix. In English in Bp. Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, Edinburgh, 1872.

[2] Plummer, I, 232.

[3] Printed under the title *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* at the expense of the Marquis of Bute, London and Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1888. See column 190.

[4] Plummer, I, 199. [5] ibid., II, p. 145. [6] Bk. i, ch. 45.

erected in token of the mutual goodwill (*fraternitatis mutuae*) between Enda and Ciaran of Clonmacnois.[1] A sacred colloquy between St Bairre and the holy patriarch Colingus took place near 'the cross which is called the cross of Colingus.'[2] One would be inclined to interpret such stories as euhemeristic attempts to provide a history for monuments the origin of which was unknown. On the other hand meetings between saints evidently attracted attention, as we see from the importance given in the Life of Kentigern to his conference with St Columba,[3] and their commemoration by a monument is quite conceivable. It is possible too that there was at work some vague remembrance of the Old Testament story of Jacob and Laban.[4] This was not exactly an encounter of two saints, but the conference was supposed to be commemorated by two prehistoric monuments that existed at the traditional place of meeting. Existing Christian crosses may have been explained in the same manner.

(4b) St Cainnech, who died about 600, saw one day when he was walking in Ireland a standing cross by the wayside and inquiring the reason of it was told that it commemorated the death in battle of a certain king of that region.[5] Another cross that may be connected with a secular event is that from which Patrick watched the combustion of Miliuc and all his goods (p. 153) for this is said to be reckoned a token of the event.

(4c) Crosses commemorating miracles would be expected to be numerous, and about them a reader of a critical turn might ask whether we believe or not in the miracles. If the fact of the main event be discredited do not all the attendant circumstances also fade away into nothingness? This objection has been partly met by what was quoted from Fustel de Coulanges (p. 39) but we may test its validity by the case of

[1] Plummer, II, 72. [2] ibid., I, 73.
[3] *Historians of Scotland*, vol. v, Edin., 1874, p. 106.
[4] Gen. xxxi, 44 f. [5] Plummer, I, 163.

Bede. The element of the miraculous bulks largely in the *Ecclesiastical History*, as it does in Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, but Bede's character as a veracious historian remains in honour. If we do not believe that the presence of Oswald's relics stopped the fire in the village house [1] (Vol. I, p. 102) we accept as true or possible the configuration and character of the building and the fact of the conflagration. The miracles themselves in the various Lives are often simply taken from the Holy Scriptures, are repeated over and over again, are trivial or unedifying—we may judge them as we will, but the belief in them on the part of the people may have connected itself with existing monuments or called new ones into being. The following examples may be noticed. In a place where a somewhat childish miracle was supposed to be wrought for St Molua there were standing till the writer's day several crosses called crosses of Molua.[2] St Maedoc was on one occasion carried through the air by angels, like Habakkuk in the Apocrypha, and set down in the midst of his monastic enclosure, 'where stands a cross in token of the miracle, known as the cross of St Moedhog.' [3] St Cainnech, we learn, raises a dead girl to life, and 'in that place, in token of the miracle' (in signum virtutis) up to the writer's day many crosses were to be seen.[4] A trivial miracle attributed to St Declan was commemorated by a form of monument that reminds us of what was said of the Christian use of pagan forms (p. 42 f.), and it is significant that Declan was a very early saint claimed by the hagiologists as pre-Patrician. After the miracle 'a heap of stones was gathered together in that place with a cross as token of the miracle, and this is called Ullath, that is, the cairn, of Declan.' [5] The miracle of raising a man from the dead achieved by St Coemgen was afterwards signalized by the erection of a cross.[6]

(5) The cross marking a grave is not often mentioned, and perhaps the monumental cross, which is the only kind suffi-

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 10. [2] Plummer, II, 207. [3] ibid., II, 143.
[4] ibid., I, 159. [5] ibid., II, 56. [6] ibid., I, 253.

ciently conspicuous to be mentioned in the Lives, was in VI or VII only beginning to be used above a single grave. Of the famous arch-saint of Brittany, St Samson of Dol, it is written that his body was conveyed to Wales and placed in the midst of quadrangular stones which were standing upright in the cemetery, a stone cross being fixed thereon.[1] This was at the end of VI, but the upright stones seem suspiciously like menhirs. The passages about St Patrick quoted from the *Book of Armagh* (p. 153) distinctly recognize funereal crosses as of early date, but they may not have been very numerous. The St Aldhelm funereal crosses of early VIII and the Ovinus monument of VII have been mentioned (p. 154).

(6) The cross as an instrument of the Christian propaganda is the last form of it to be noticed, and we turn for evidence here to the Life of St Kentigern, already singled out for its interest and its air of authenticity (p. 40 and Vol. I, p. 162). Joceline of Furness, the XII editor of the biography, must have kept very near to the original documents which were his authority, though there are later entries, such as those about the saint's relations with Rome, that betray the mediaeval ecclesiologist. Kentigern, we are told,[2] 'erected many crosses in divers places,' and 'he had a custom, in the places in which at any time he had by preaching won the people to the dominion of Christ, or had dwelt for any length of time, there to erect the triumphant standard of the cross.'[3] Four notable instances are given and in the case of two the monuments worked miracles, but these we are expressly told were only some among the many that signalized his missionary labours. When he journeyed from Strathclyde to Wales he turned aside in the hill district of Cumberland where 'many among the mountains were given to idolatry or ignorant of the Divine law,' and erected there, perhaps upon Cross Fell, 'a

[1] Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 481.

[2] *Historians of Scotland*, v, Edinburgh, 1874, ch. xli.

[3] ibid., p. 109, ch. xli.

cross as the sign of the faith.'[1] When in Wales, he vindicated for Christianity the site afterwards called by the name of St Asaph, and, on reaching the site, he erected there a cross 'in testimony and sign of salvation and in earnest of the future religion.'[2] Of the two wonder-working crosses, one, at a place called 'Lothwerverd,' identified with Borthwick in Midlothian, was miraculously formed of sea sand, 'condensed and formed into a cross,' the explanation probably being that it was made of coarse sandstone brought from another locality to a place where the people had no knowledge of this kind of rock. The notice in this case would be an early one. The other cross was a very large one for the cemetery of his church in Glasgow, the site of the present cathedral. He 'caused it to be cut by quarriers from a block of stone of wondrous size' and it was so heavy that it was only by angelic aid that it was ultimately raised 'to the place where it standeth to-day.'[3]

These passages may be held to justify what was said of the Life of Kentigern as the fundamental document, the *locus classicus*, for the early history of the monumental cross in Great Britain. We need not expect that Kentigern's proceedings, which we may assume were followed by his successors in the Cumbrian church, would produce an immediate or at any rate direct effect upon the monumental art of the Anglo-Saxons, for between the British and early Anglo-Saxon churches there existed as we know from Bede[4] a somewhat bitter hostility. We cannot however examine the magnificent decorated cross at the Strathclyde site of Ruthwell without remembering that the earlier British apostle of Strathclyde exhibited, even in VI, for monuments of this type a marked predilection.

'Of this type,' but not necessarily of similar aspect. If we ask what these early crosses of the Celtic areas were like, the answer must be that they were doubtless of different sizes

[1] ibid., p. 74, ch. xxiii.
[2] ibid., p. 76, ch. xxiv.
[3] ibid., p. 110.
[4] *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 2, 4.

and different materials and were sometimes carefully sometimes rudely wrought, but so far as we are informed were not ornamented. The Kilwinning cross (p. 157) was a 'crux lapidea miro artificio constructa,' but with this exception no hint is given in any of the passages culled from the documents of any artistic character in the monuments. The cross is just a 'crux,' occasionally a 'crux sancta,' but this is all that is said about it. We are not even told it was ever inscribed. There was no lack of artistic talent in the Ireland of VI nor of capacity to work in stone as well as in wood. The 'faber' or 'faber monasterii' is more than once mentioned,[1] and besides monastic craftsmen there were lay artificers of repute in full employ. One, like Hal o' the Wynd, was also a great fighter.[2] Patrick, like Wilfrid of Hexham, had a permanent staff of skilled workers whose names are given at the end of the *Tripartite Life*. He had names inscribed on the three menhirs previously mentioned (p. 42) and such work came easily to him, for on one occasion he 'marked out with his crozier a cross in the flagstone, and cut the stone as if it were soft clay.'[3] A cutter of inferior endowment in the 'familia' of St Coemgen had his eye injured by a chip of the stone he was hewing.[4] The case of the cross is to all appearance the same as that of the recumbent burial slab. Ireland may in the early days have been prolific in both, but they were simply wrought and unadorned. In the artistic treatment and adornment of the pieces the lead was apparently taken not by the Celtic craftsman but by those of Teutonic England, where in VII, as the present volume aims at showing, there was developed in many forms a very notable artistic activity.

The early crosses under consideration were of different kinds. The two missionary crosses of Kentigern in Cumberland and Wales as well as the 'many others' he set up under similar conditions were of course of wood, but the two wonder-

[1] Plummer, II, 15, 237.
[2] ibid., II, 164.
[3] *Tripartite Life*, p. 79.
[4] Plummer, I, 241.

working examples were of stone, and one was 'very large.' The Iona cross for the socket of which an old millstone was used was doubtless of stone (p. 152). In the case of most that have been mentioned the material is uncertain. St Cuthbert's cross by his oratory (p. 153) we may imagine of stone,[1] like the rudely shaped cruciform slab of modest dimensions, Pl. XXIV, 1, that stands in the tiny monastic cemetery surrounded by the dry-stone huts and oratories on the rock of Skellig Michael (Vol. I, p. 151). Crosses of this primitive kind occur frequently in Cornwall and on Dartmoor, and there is a Yorkshire cross of shape like that on Skellig Michael, with the cross form cut out in a slab, that stands on the moors about 10 miles from Scarborough, and is known as the Lilla Cross, see Bede, bk. ii, ch. 9. The date of these particular crosses need not be discussed, but they give an idea of what may have been the character of the earliest ones.

Whatever may be said on these details, the main fact must in conclusion be emphasized, that the crosses were at any rate free-standing solid pieces of three dimensions, each conceived and wrought as a whole, 'd'un seul jet,' not derived from anything earlier, and not evolved by a tedious process of supposed development from incised cruciferous slabs. Wherever in the early days a conspicuous display of the sign of Christ was called for, this would take the shape of a fully formed cross, perhaps cheap and rude of a couple of stakes, perhaps more slowly wrought in stone, but always the cross itself and not a mere drawing of it.

We may return at this point to the question posed a few pages earlier (p. 149 f.) as to the explanation of the rectangular or oblong section of the Anglo-Saxon cross shafts. A free-standing cross of stone has been now proved perfectly possible at the early date suggested for Bewcastle and Ruthwell, and

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 28, expressly tells us that Cuthbert's island was treeless. In a Life of the saint printed by the Surtees Society in 1838 he is said to have set up a 'crux magna lapidea' in the Athole district.

the shape of the shaft in question may have been motived by quite other reasons than a reminiscence of an earlier slab form.

Two influences may have been here at work. The first is that of material. The antiquary who examines the cruciform or cruciferous monuments of South Wales or the Isle of Man will find the slab form predominant. Cruciferous slabs, or fully formed crosses in which the width of the shaft is far in excess of its thickness, are there greatly in evidence, but on the other hand if he transfer his attention to the crosses of Devonshire and of Cornwall he will find abundant free-standing crosses with shafts that are almost square in section. The difference is easily seen to depend largely on the geology of the regions. The Manx schists and the laminated sandstones of South Wales cleave naturally into the slab form, whereas the granites of Dartmoor and to a less extent those of Cornwall are not laminated, and break more readily into the pillar form than into that of the slab. Hence the plain Dartmoor crosses, not necessarily of pre-Conquest date, have squarer shafts. When however ornamentation is applied, as in most of the Cornish examples, there comes into operation an influence of a different kind. The display of ornament leads naturally to an extension of the front and back surfaces at the expense of the thickness, and a stone not naturally laminated will be on this account cut into a more or less slab-like form. As the ornament is displayed chiefly on the front and back, a suitable amount of space is here provided for it, while the thickness is comparatively small because the ornament on the sides is always of inferior importance. In this the Gosforth cross in Cumberland is instructive. In the lower part it is cylindrical in section, but above, where flattened surfaces are needed for sculpture, instead of being merely squared the shaft is cut wider at front and back than at the sides. We may therefore put aside the notion that a cross shaft oblong in section is necessarily a cast-back to an earlier slab.

With regard to the form of the cross head the following

may be noted. It has been pointed out (p. 85) that the normal ornamented cross form in classical lands is the cross with arms broadened out at the ends, or cross patty, the broadening being at first only at the end though later on it is carried down in an even sweep to the centre where the arms intersect and continued in the same curve to the end of the opposite arm. Still later there is an alteration in the curve and the arc of a circle no longer defines the outline of two opposite arms but of two adjacent arms, as in the cases already noted of the pectoral cross, and portable-altar cross, of St Cuthbert and the crosses on Merovingian sarcophagi (p. 94 f.). A parabolic curve appears sometimes in the place of the arc of a circle. In some examples, as in a pin-head from a Jutish grave in Kent shown Pl. xxv, 3 (p. 201), the expansion of the arms is very considerable and their extremities almost touch. Now there is no difficulty in drawing a cross head of this form or in fashioning it in the round on a small scale in metal, but when it is to be formed on a monumental scale in timber or in stone difficulties may arise. Timber was certainly as a rule the material of the earliest monumental crosses, and a wooden cross would be made of an upright log roughly squared with a short piece of similar section morticed across it. The needful stuff would be almost everywhere at hand in the form of roughly squared logs of the form and size suitable for timber building in the block-house technique (Vol. II, p. 37 f.). An upright with a length of three or four feet of the same stuff for the transom would make up Oswald's cross at Heavenfield, though a similar monument constructed at leisure would receive a more careful treatment. There would at first be no enlargement towards the ends of the arms. If such enlargement were desired it could only be effected by selecting pieces of wood of sufficient width and cutting them down on the curve, a process which would involve considerable waste.[1]

[1] The modern device of nailing on extra pieces of stuff to form the projections would never have occurred to the mediaeval craftsman.

A compromise could be effected if the broadening out were begun from the centre outwards, but not continued on the same curve to the extremity for which a very wide slab-like piece of material would be necessary. A second curve starting

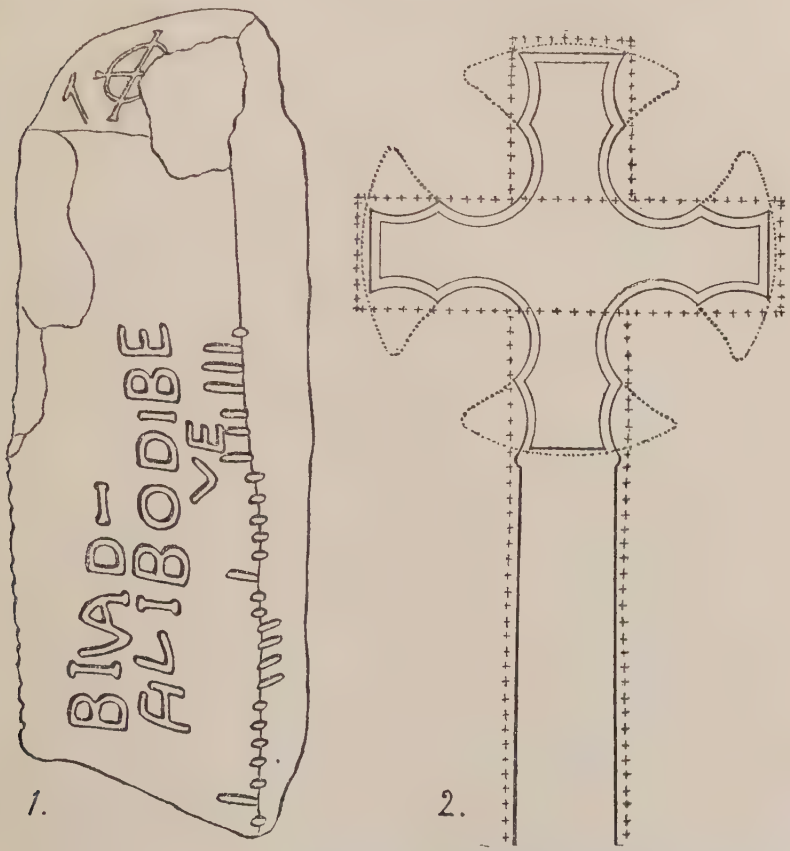

FIG. 11.—1. Early Welsh stone at Carmarthen, with incised cross (Oghams on dexter side omitted).
2. Head of the Ruthwell Cross.

half-way along the arm might cut the first and give an outline that would keep the whole limb substantially the same width throughout. The diagram, Fig. 11, 2, explains what is meant. The form shown in the firm line is that of the Ruthwell cross, the line of crosses gives the contour of the easily procured

pieces of wood necessary to make it, while the dotted lines exhibit a normal shape of a decorative cross head in the fashion of VII easy to draw but not practical for monumental purposes. It is noteworthy that it is quite exceptional to find this shape of the Ruthwell cross head in what may be called a decorative cross, carved in relief, incised, or drawn, on a slab or panel or the page of a book. The only example the writer can recall is the cross in low relief on the stone at Hoddam, noticed below, that is not really a case in point. The form is essentially a monumental one and is exceedingly common in the stone cross heads that are so numerous in the pre-Conquest period in Britain, especially in the north of England. It was there greatly in vogue in the later Saxon period, and we find it, for example, on all the four cross heads of a date in the earlier part of XI that were discovered in the foundations of the Chapter House at Durham.[1] This fact might seem to indicate that it was a late form, and might be used as an argument against an early date for the Ruthwell monument. Such an argument however has little validity. In the first place as we have just seen, it is a very natural form for the England of VII, and was just a modification of the fashionable decorative form to suit material exigencies, and not a mere fanciful invention which would carry with it the suggestion of advanced date. In the second place it is the fact that though it occurs in late examples it is by no means confined to these, for we find it in the important and fairly early cross at Rothbury in Northumberland, No. 8 on Pl. xxv (p. 201); at Masham and Lastingham, Yorkshire,[2] and elsewhere, while there are Scottish examples at the interesting ecclesiastical centre at Hoddam in Dumfriesshire, with an obviously late one at Dupplin in Perthshire.[3] At Hoddam moreover, on a grave

[1] Haverfield and Greenwell, *Catalogue of the sculptured and incised Stones in the Cathedral Library, Durham*, Durham, 1899, p. 79 f.

[2] *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. xix, p. 352 f.

[3] *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1903, p. 319 f.

cover recently discovered in the ancient burying ground,[1] there occurs a cross in low relief that reproduces the form of the shaft and head of the Ruthwell cross as these must have appeared in combination. The date of the slab cannot be ascertained, but it certainly must have been cut at a time

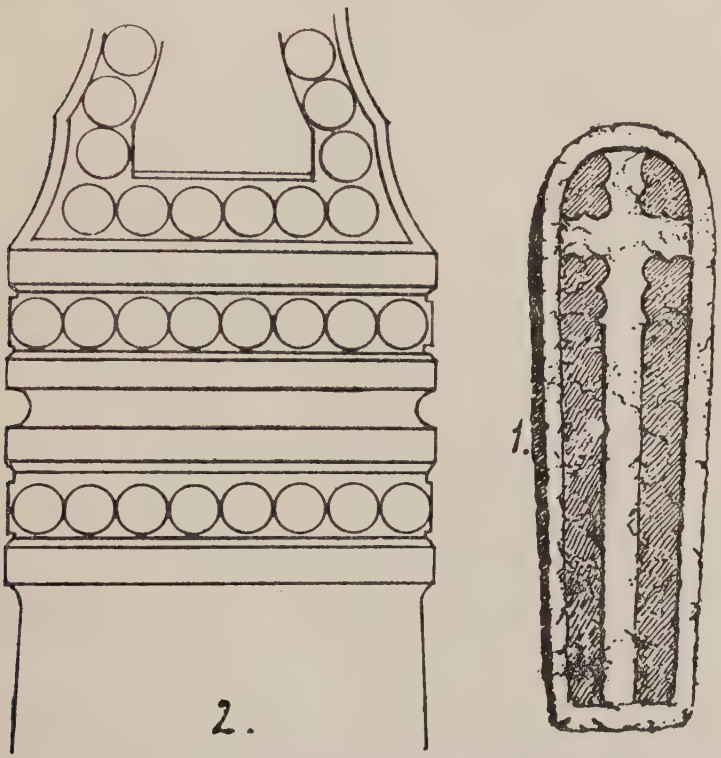

FIG. 12.—1. Slab at Hoddam, Dumfriesshire.
2. Head of the Acca Cross, Durham.

when the Ruthwell cross was still perfect, and it undoubtedly reproduces its shape though perhaps not its proportions. See the drawing, Fig. 12, 1.

Furthermore—a fact indicating that the double curve is really quite early—there is no question that this was the

[1] *Report on the Ancient Monuments of Dumfriesshire*, Ancient Monuments Commission for Scotland, Edinburgh, 1920.

shape of the head of the so-called 'Acca' cross, the fragments of which were brought from Hexham and are now put together in the Cathedral Library, Durham. We have the authority of a Hexham writer of XII in the *Historia Regum* published under the name of Symeon of Durham[1] that when Acca, bishop of Hexham, was buried outside the eastern end of his church in the year 740 A.D., 'two stone crosses adorned with wonderful carving were set up, one at his head, the other at his feet. On one of these, that at the head, there were inscribed letters stating that he was buried in that spot.' Near this same spot in 1858 was found a portion of a carved cross shaft, and this with other portions which came to light in the neighbourhood makes up the 'Acca' cross in question,[2] the top part of which is shown in a photograph, No. 1 on Pl. xxv (p. 201), while Fig. 12, 2, gives from the writer's examination and measurements a geometrical drawing of the elevation. It will be seen that enough is left of the lower part of the head to indicate a form like that of the Ruthwell and Rothbury crosses, and if this be really one of the crosses set up in 740 its importance for the dating of the Dumfriesshire monument is obvious. Traces of two A's can be discerned on the plain back of the cross shaft with space enough between them for two C's, but this point is too doubtful for much to be made of it.

The floral ornamentation of the 'Acca' cross shaft exhibits, as seen in No. 1 on Pl. xxv, though in lower relief, a motive similar to that of the foliage at Bewcastle, but the head is enriched largely with rows of pellets which are familiar elements in Norman decoration. These may be taken in connection with the panel of carved chequers conspicuous on the northern face of the Bewcastle cross, which also carries with it a pronounced Norman suggestion, for though the

[1] Printed by the Surtees Society in its Publication No. 51, Durham, 1868. See pp. xxiv, lxxii, 14.

[2] Haverfield and Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 58.

chequer ornament in itself is of all times and countries chequers carved in stone are characteristically Norman. It is very noteworthy however that among the quite recent discoveries at Hoddam was one of a fragment of a sculptured slab with carved chequers of the same form as those at Bewcastle

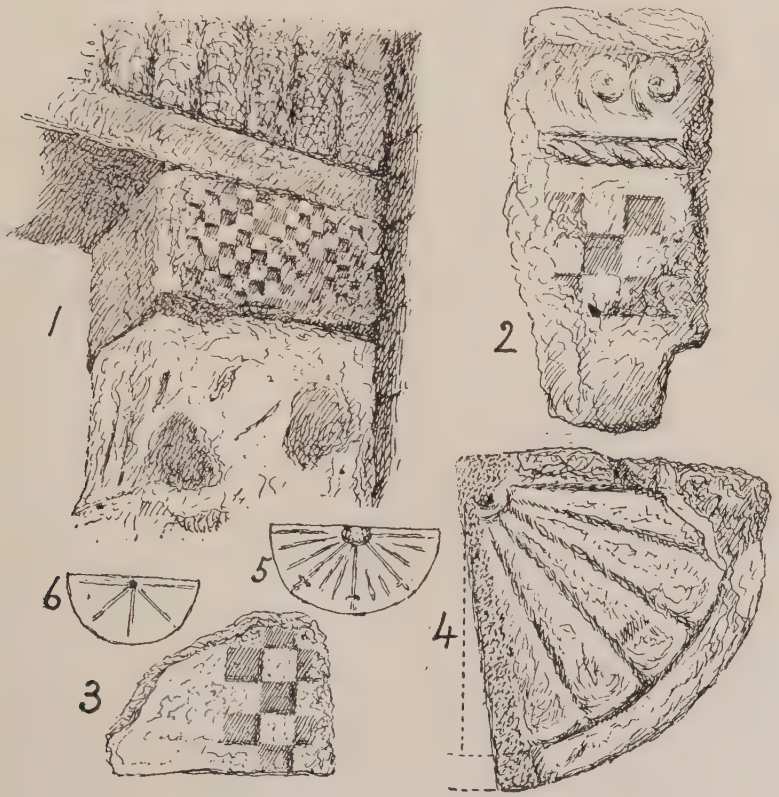

FIG. 13.—1–3. Chequers in Stonework. 4–6. Sundials.

though on rather a larger scale. There is no evidence to fix the approximate date of this fragment but it occurs in company with early pieces. A fragment from Hexham in Durham Cathedral Library associated with pieces that are ascribed to the era of Wilfrid is marked with similar chequers.[1] The two are shown Fig. 13, 3, 2. Chequers and pellets moreover are

[1] *Catalogue*, p. 65.

common in Irish ornamentation and occur carved in stone in work where no Norman influence is to be traced. Painted chequers are found in the illuminations in the Book of Durrow, while chequers in relief in metal work occur on the cover of the Stowe Missal in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy of a date between 1023 and 1052, and in stone on the jamb of the doorway of the ruined church at Maghera, Co. Londonderry, which may be dated about the same epoch. The Maghera chequers are curiously like those at Bewcastle, but the squares are a trifle smaller. See Fig. 13, 1. Pellets occur on the famous enriched doorway at Freshford, Co. Kilkenny, in the beautiful bases of the chancel arch at St Caimin's, Inniscaltra, and very commonly elsewhere in 'Irish Romanesque,' a style influenced by, but in its origin and early development independent of, Norman art.

We meet here again with points of connection between Anglo-Saxon and Irish work (p. 77 f.) and may add here the fact that the subject of the hermits Paul and Anthony breaking bread in the desert, conspicuous at Ruthwell, occurs also several times on the Irish carved crosses of about XI. The previous discussion just referred to will have established the principle that there is no ground for the assumption that the Anglo-Saxons were the borrowers, and it is to be noted that Mr Champneys in his admirable study of early Irish architecture and decoration decides that in cases of the kind the Irish probably borrowed from the Northumbrians.[1] The Irish pellets and chequers are useful as showing that such details in stone are not confined to Norman work.

On the Bewcastle shaft but not at Ruthwell we have found panels of interlacing work (p. 147). The Bewcastle panels are very finely wrought, and the photograph Pl. XXI (p. 146) enables the reader to see how carefully and with what spirit the in-and-out crossing of the bands is shown, especially in the upper panel. This is plastic carving, not merely

[1] *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, London, 1910, p. 86.

PLATE XXIII

INTERLACED PANELS COMPARED

incised delineation as on similar panels of the later Saxon centuries. It may be worth mentioning that two of these panels agree in part with interlacing patterns found in the Gospels of Lindisfarne of the date of about 700 A.D.[1] The comparison may be made on Pl. XXIII.

It was mentioned above that a sundial occurs in the middle of one of the foliage panels on the southern face at Bewcastle. The argument that the presence of this feature suggests a comparatively late date for the cross carries no weight, for Anglo-Saxon sundials of various dates are not great rarities. Moreover a broken Roman sundial of the same general form as these was found at the station of Borcovicus on the Roman Wall within a walk of Bewcastle, and is preserved in the Museum at Chesters on the North Tyne, see Fig. 13, 4. In the Irish Life of St Moling, who lived in VII, we are told of a large stone which he procured for the purpose of a 'horologium,'[2] no doubt a dial. In the *Book of Sun-Dials*[3] different methods of dialling are noted as in use in the Anglo-Saxon period. The octaval system or division of day-and-night into eight, with four divisions for the hours of light, is said to be 'customary among the Norsemen and Angles,' while the Romans used the twenty-four hour system giving twelve for the same period. A combination of these two systems is also recognized. This is followed at Bewcastle where as is seen in the photograph Pl. XXIV, 3, and the thumbnail sketch Fig. 13, 5, the semicircle is divided into four by lines each of which is crossed near the end, the vertical one indicating noon,

[1] See postea, p. 378 f. The Bewcastle panel below the chequers on the north face (Pl. XXIII, 1) may be compared with fol. 92 r of the Gospels of Lindisfarne (the beginning of the Gospel of St Mark), the middle panel on the right side of the stem of the second I in 'initium,' in the centre of the page (2); and the Bewcastle panel at the bottom of the south side (Pl. XXIII, 3) with fol. 2 v (a whole page of ornament) the top parts of the panels just under the indentations of the arms of the central cross (4).

[2] Plummer, II, 195.

[3] By Mrs. Gatty, re-edited and enlarged, Lond., 1900. See pp. 16, and 51 f.

or the ecclesiastical hour Sext, and those on the dexter and sinister sides respectively nine and three o'clock, or Terce and None. Each of the four spaces thus indicated in what is supposed to be the Anglian fashion is divided by simple lines into three, thus giving the twelve daylight hours on the Roman system. This may be identified in the fragmentary sundial at Chesters, Fig. 13, 4, where the dotted line would mark the vertical division for noon and the surviving quadrant give six hours. The oldest Anglo-Saxon dial, apart from this at Bewcastle, is probably the specimen that survives apparently *in situ* above the south doorway of the primitive church at Escomb in Co. Durham. Pl. xxiv, 2, gives a view of it and Fig. 13, 6, the division into four spaces on the octaval system.

From these different systems of dialling no chronological inferences can safely be drawn. The octaval system occurs in the probably early specimen at Hart, Co. Durham, but also in the late examples at Kirkdale, Yorks (Vol. i, p. 357) and Daglingworth, Gloucestershire (Vol. ii, p. 338). The arrangement at Bewcastle is repeated in the dial at Bishopstone, Sussex, inscribed with the name Eadric, which is too common for any chronological argument to be based on it. The church (Vol. ii, pp. 336, 288) is ascribed to the intermediate period, between the very early ones such as Escomb and those which from their long-and-short work are located in XI. The Bewcastle system of divisions may be regarded in the same light as the cross head at Ruthwell. It could occur at any Anglo-Saxon period, but its appearance at a quite early date would be quite natural. It is a fusion of native with Roman elements similar to the mixture of runes and Latin characters on the Ruthwell cross.

PLATE XXIV

CROSSES AND SUNDIALS

1, Cross in Monks' cemetery on Skellig Michael, Ireland; 2, Sundial at Escomb, Durham; 3, Sundial on Bewcastle Cross

CHAPTER VII

THE RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE CROSSES: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS. (2) THE INSCRIPTIONS: PALAEOGRAPHY OF THE LATIN INSCRIPTIONS; THE RUNIC SYSTEM OF WRITING, ITS NATURE, ORIGIN AND HISTORY; THE RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS (*a*) AT RUTHWELL, (*b*) AT BEWCASTLE

In regard to the problem of date, no detail of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses is of so great importance as the inscriptions. Questions of Latin palaeography and of runology present themselves here for discussion and on their solution depend important chronological decisions. History, philology, and literary criticism are involved in the interpretation of the inscriptions, and it is in the domain of the last two studies that controversy about the date of the monuments has been in recent years particularly active. Special attention has accordingly been directed to this part of the subject matter of the present volume, and Chapters viii and ix, from the pen of Prof. Blyth Webster, deal with it with all due fulness. The first subject before us here is the palaeography of the Latin inscriptions, which it will be remembered are confined to the monument at Ruthwell.

Most of the letters in these inscriptions are Roman capitals modified in a fashion represented in the great illuminated manuscripts of the Hiberno-Saxon school, such as the Books of Durrow and of Kells, the Gospels of Lindisfarne, and the Gospels of St Chad at Lichfield. In these manuscripts capital and minuscule letters, displayed on the sumptuous pages where a few words only of text are set in an elaborate decorative scheme, take sometimes quite fantastic shapes but admit of a

normal alphabet being formed from them. Specimens from Lindisfarne are shown Fig. 14, the words being ET VERBUM ERAT APUD DM ET DS. From an alphabet of a similar

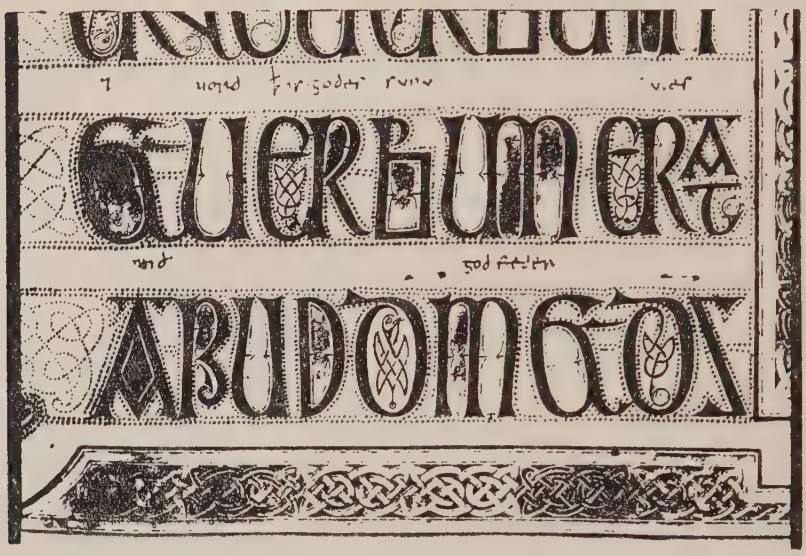

FIG. 14.—Lettering from the Gospels of Lindisfarne.

character are drawn most of the letters in the Latin inscriptions on the stone, and those that are capitals are given in line *aa* Fig. 15, the inscription round the Christ of the northern

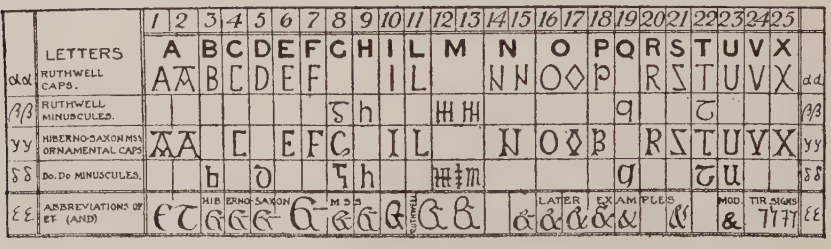
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
LETTERS
A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T U V X
αα RUTHWELL CAPS.
ββ RUTHWELL MINUSCULES.
γγ HIBERNO-SAXON MSS. ORNAMENTAL CAPS.
δδ Do. Do MINUSCULES.
εε ABBREVIATIONS OF ET (AND)
HIB
ERNO-SAXON
M S S
LATER
EX AM PLES
MOD.
TIR SIGNS

FIG. 15.—Lettering of the Hiberno-Saxon Style.

face, where the words are spaced freely and divided by points, having been taken as providing the standard forms. Others of the letters are minuscules and are shown in line *ββ*. The manuscripts agree with the inscription in this mixture of

capitals and minuscules, but the particular letters do not always correspond. Among the capitals, A, C, D, E, F, I, L, O, R, S, T, U, V, X, are found in practically the same forms in the inscription and on the sumptuous pages of the manuscripts, though of course the pen works more freely than the pick or chisel and can give more and sharper detail, with varieties in the thickness of lines. The B is commonly in the latter of minuscule form, but on the cross is a capital. G, which in the manuscripts is either of normal capital shape or takes a very curious minuscule form, δδ, 8, appears on the stone in the shape of the common minuscule shown in the square ββ, 8, Fig. 15. H is of minuscule form in both. M takes remarkable shapes alike on the stone and in the manuscripts, see squares ββ, δδ, 12, 13. These are really minuscules, the line joining the three upright strokes being placed half-way up them instead of at the top, while the whole letter may be sometimes turned on its side, as in the middle sign of the three in δδ, 12, 13, from the great QUONIAM QUIDEM page in Lindisfarne, see Pl. xxxvi (p. 362), the recto of fol. 139, where it appears as a vertical line crossed by three parallel bars. It also occurs in Lindisfarne in ordinary minuscule form, see the third sign in δδ, 12, 13. The capital M is used however in Durrow. The N appears in the form of squares 14, 15 also in the manuscripts, and curiously enough it is there commonly used in this its majuscule form in the half-uncial writing of the text, the desire being to avoid confusion between the minuscules 'n' and 'r.'[1] O is a capital in both MSS. and inscriptions and appears in both in the two forms shown in squares δδ, 16, 17. P, which is normal on the stone, has in the manuscripts a flourish below the loop which looks like a second loop and almost turns the letter into a B.[2] The

[1] Sir E. Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, Oxford, 1912, p. 374.

[2] Compare what was said (p. 91 f.) about the P of the chrism which a flourish of a similar kind turns into an R.

normal form however appears in the Book of Durrow, beginning the second word in St John's Gospel. Q is a minuscule both in the inscription and in the manuscripts. T occurs on stone and in manuscripts both in majuscule and minuscule form, and the latter use of it on the stone at Ruthwell is a point of interest. On the margin below the scene of Christ with the Magdalen on the southern face the inscription ends with the word TERGEBAT (p. 137). There was not room for the full word in capitals, so the last two letters were made smaller and placed one on the top of the other. The A is a capital but the T a minuscule, and it is interesting to note that in the Gospels of Lindisfarne the very same thing occurs, as will be seen at the end of the upper line in Fig. 14. This is a small detail but is by no means without significance as illustrating the close resemblance in the palaeographic aspect between the writing on the stone and in the early manuscripts. There is nothing on the former that does not appear in the latter, and points of connection like the M of squares 12, 13 are certainly remarkable. It must not of course be taken that the forms on the stone are *only* to be found on monuments of early date. The majority can be found paralleled on much later monuments. For example, this form of M is early, but is not confined to the earliest group of manuscripts, for Westwood gives two examples from IX on Plates 21 and 28 of his *Facsimiles of Manuscripts*.[1]

To illustrate further this point reference may be made for purposes of comparison to a datable Anglian inscription on stone from the very end of the Anglo-Saxon period, see Vol. I, p. 357. It is the well-known sundial inscription from the south door of Kirkdale church near Kirkby Moorside, Yorkshire, and it dates within a few years of 1060 A.D. It will be noticed that the ornamental A, the diamond-shaped O, the S with straight lines, occur in it. On the other hand a comparison may be made between the Ruthwell lettering and that found in the famous

[1] London, 1868.

Benedictional of Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester from 963 to 984. This is a notable work of West Saxon art of X, and the facsimile publication[1] is worth examining in view of certain considerations afterwards to be adduced. Now the Benedictional is a work of the southern scriptoria that were less open to the influences of Celtic calligraphy than those of Northumbria, and the majuscule characters throughout are of the classical Roman form, without any of those fanciful elements which occur in the early Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts and on the Ruthwell cross. When capitals are in use in the Benedictional there is no such admixture of minuscules as we have just come to know.

A final point that is of some interest concerns the abbreviations for AND or rather ET. In early mediaeval manuscripts this takes two forms. One is the old Tironian sign,[2] an inheritance from classical antiquity, that resembles the Arabic numeral 7, and the other is a ligature of the two letters that has survived to our own time in the familiar &. The 7 sign was apparently specially favoured by Celtic scribes, and Professor Lindsay believes that the Irish set the fashion of its use to the scribes on the Continent.[3] The Boniface Gospels at Fulda, which he accepts as of the first half of VIII in date,[4] use it, and so does the datable Book of Armagh of the year 807,[5] but on the Continent M. Prou reckons that it was taken into the minuscule script from about X, and Canon Reusens is of the same opinion—' dès le X^{e} siècle, apparaît le signe en

[1] Oxford, for the Roxburghe Club, 1910. The manuscript is in the library of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth.

[2] Tironian signs or notes are the elements of an ancient system of tachygraphy equivalent in its intention to our shorthand. The name comes from one Tiro, a freedman of Cicero, who was supposed to have invented the system in order to take down his master's words. See M. Prou, *Manuel de Paléographie*, Paris, 1910, p. 118 f.

[3] *Contractions in Early Latin Minuscule MSS.*, Oxford, 1908, pp. 12, 34.

[4] *Early Irish Minuscule Script*, Oxford, 1910, p. 5, and facsimile, Pl. III.

[5] ibid., p. 26 and Pl. IX.

forme de 7,' etc.[1] In that century and the following it was certainly very common, and likewise in XII though it alternated then with other indications of the conjunction. It is used on the Bridekirk font of XII, as well as in the Kirkdale inscription.

The second form of the abbreviation noticed above is naturally used in Latin texts and is a simple ligature of an uncial E of a rounded form with a minuscule T.[2] It occurs universally in the sumptuous early Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts above referred to in forms such as those shown in squares ϵϵ, 3 to 5, taken respectively from the Gospels of Lindisfarne, the Book of Durrow, and the Book of Kells. Here the two letters have so far coalesced that the dexter portion of the horizontal head of the T serves as the central horizontal of the E while the sinister portion is cut off and appears as a separate stroke. In the Kells example the upper curve of the E is made into a loop like that of the cursive E of our handwriting. Square 6, 7, shows another Lindisfarne example, square 8 one from the Bodleian 'Rushworth' Gospels or Gospels of MacRegol of about A.D. 800, and square 9 a specimen from the Canterbury Gospels of the latter part of VIII, in the British Museum,[3] while square 10 is also from the Lindisfarne MS. but from the Latin colophon at the end (not the Anglo-Saxon colophon of Aldred), see postea (p. 336). There follow in squares 11 to 13 the two specimens of the ligature which appear on the Ruthwell Cross. The E here is formed with two closed loops, as in square 10, but the lower curved part of the minuscule T and the sinister portion of the head are still in evidence.

The after history of the ligature is interesting to trace. In VIII and IX it is the common contraction for ET especially in well-written Latin manuscripts and appears also in the

[1] *Éléments de Paléographie*, Louvain, 1899, p. 104.

[2] Canon Reusens says a capital T reversed, ⊥, but there is no question that the letter is a minuscule; see the forms of the two letters in squares ϵϵ, 1, 2, in Fig. 15.

[3] Sir E. Maunde Thompson's *Introduction*, facsimile No. 141.

Benedictional of Æthelwold of X. The form in square 16 is from a capitular of Charles the Great of the year 825, in 17 from the Benedictional. In these last there is a modification that is almost universal in the manuscripts of the later period in which the ligature occurs. The upper curve or loop of the E is atrophied and reduced to a small flourish like a hook, while what was originally the sinister portion of the head of the T is tacked on to the lower curve of the E of which it forms the termination. Exceptionally this hook or flourish is found earlier, for square 15 gives an example from the fragmentary gospels of about VII in Trinity College, Dublin,[1] but here the portion of the head of the T is still distinct. ɛɛ 18 is from an MS. of X, Royal 5E, XIII. The final morphological change seen in examples of XII turns this hook or flourish into a complete loop which is taken into the general sweep of the curves of the letter. Squares 19 and 21 contain examples of XII, the former from the Cottonian MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Dom. A, VIII; the latter from a fragment of the Bible in Edinburgh University Library. It will be seen at once that these are the immediate progenitors of the familiar sign for 'and' of the modern printer, as seen in square 23. Squares 24 and 25 show some forms of the Tironian sign 7 used as an abbreviation of 'and.'

The question of the chronological significance of the shape of the ligature on the Ruthwell cross may have a word. There is no doubt that the form of the ligature in which the E is completely formed with an upper and an under curve is earlier than the one in which the upper curve is atrophied into a hook or flourish. Though square 15 is a curious exception, this is borne out by the examples in squares 3 to 9, and the form of the ligature on the Ruthwell cross is certainly early as it resembles these far more than it does the later examples, such as that from the Benedictional of Æthelwold of X, square 17, which is more than half-way towards the

[1] *National MSS. of Ireland*, I, 2.

modern &. At the same time, the dated examples which appear in the illustration of these forms of the ligature show that no rigid system of chronology can be derived from them. The point may seem a small one, but such details sometimes furnish very valuable chronological indications. In this case the minor piece of evidence is quite in favour of the early date proposed for the cross.

Next in order must be noticed the inscriptions in runes, which occur on both the monuments.

The runic system of writing is purely Teutonic and is chiefly represented among the more northerly members of the Teutonic stock. It belongs to the Germanic peoples just as the Ogham system belongs to the Britannic Celts, and any runic inscriptions discovered in the Celtic districts of the British Isles are as certainly intrusive as Oghams are when found in Anglo-Saxon regions, as was the case at Silchester. The fact that runic inscriptions figure so largely on the two crosses is enough to preclude any suggestion that they are of Irish origin, though it has already been seen that there are interesting points of connection between Irish artistic work and that found in Anglo-Saxon England, of which due account has to be taken.

Runes were not however indigenous in the North, but the characters were derived from the Greek or, to a lesser extent, from the Roman alphabet, and their introduction appears to have been due to the Goths of about 200 A.D. when they were living, in touch with classical lands, on the northern borders of the Black Sea. Some of the characters betray at the first glance their origin in letters of the Greek or Roman alphabet but of others the exact derivation is obscure, and the matter is complicated by the fact that it was not always the familiar classical capital letters that were used, but the minuscules such as we know in ordinary print, and also cursive forms of the letters in popular use for everyday writing. The modifications which the characters underwent in being turned into

runes were largely due to the fact that they were meant to be incised on wood. This material offers itself as a rule in the form of long narrow pieces, derived from the natural shape of the tree trunk and the bough, and the characters would run from left to right or right to left along the strip of material available, so that the upright strokes would be cut at right angles to the grain of the wood and the horizontal strokes, like those of an F, would lie along it.

Experience evidently showed that these horizontal strokes tended to be confused with the lines of the grain, and for this reason they were made to take an oblique direction. Hence the Latin F becomes the runic character shown in column 1 in Fig. 16, the Greek or Latin T the form seen in column 17. The cross strokes of the H, column 9, also slant. The characters in an inscription are almost always the same height, and were so made at first in order to fill evenly the upright space allowed by the breadth of the primitive wooden stave. Perhaps owing to this tradition, the vertical strokes are in runic writing specially emphasized, possibly because of the crisp pleasant feeling, which every boy with a knife in his hand has experienced, of the clean cut against the grain of the wood, so that the classical A has the dexter upright stroke made vertical and the other stroke and the bar are run obliquely so as to make the runic character seen in its simplest form in column 26. The custom of reversing so that left becomes right, or of turning letters upside down, was freely adopted, so that on the Franks Casket, line ϵ, the ' s ' of column 16 may face either way. The combination of two letters into one runic character after the manner of ligatures or diphthongs also makes its appearance, and such compounds are called ' bind-runes.' Specimens will be found in the dexter column of Fig. 16. Stops are sometimes used, but in quite arbitrary and casual fashion, and there is no division between words nor any recognition that the end of a line is a good place for the termination of a word. Lastly it must be noted

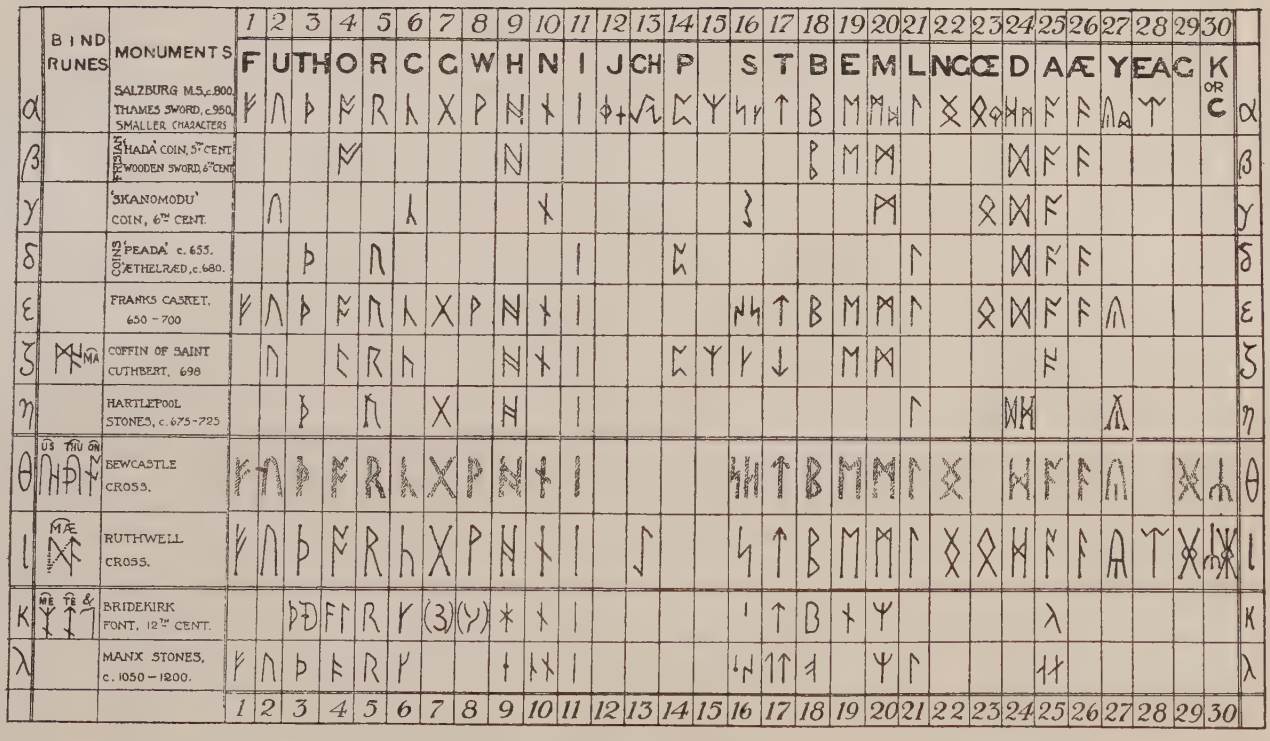
BIND RUNES
MONUMENTS
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30
F U TH O R C C W H N I J CH P S T B E M L NG Œ D A Æ Y EA G K OR C
α
SALZBURG MS. c. 800.
THAMES SWORD, c. 950.
SMALLER CHARACTERS
β
FRISIAN 'HADA' COIN, 5TH CENT.
WOODEN SWORD, 6TH CENT.
γ
'SKANOMODU' COIN, 6TH CENT.
δ
COINS 'PEADA' c. 655.
ÆTHELRÆD, c. 680.
ε
FRANKS CASKET. 650 – 700
ϛ
COFFIN OF SAINT CUTHBERT. 698
η
HARTLEPOOL STONES, c. 675–725
θ
BEWCASTLE CROSS.
ι
RUTHWELL CROSS.
κ
BRIDEKIRK FONT, 12TH CENT.
λ
MANX STONES, c. 1050 – 1200.

FIG. 16.—Tables of Runes.

that for some unexplained reason the classical (and Semitic) order of the letters, A, B, C, etc., is not followed, but the first letter is F, which with the six following makes up the word 'futhorc,' so that this term is applied to the whole set of letters in the same sense as our word 'Alphabet.'

The runic system of writing was introduced, as has been said, in southern Russia, but it was propagated not in the westward direction as would have been expected, but towards the north. The reason of this was the introduction in IV by Ulfilas of a Gothic alphabet closely following the classical, in which he wrote his famous vernacular version of the Bible. This superseded for these Dacian regions the runic futhorc and barred the way against its diffusion towards the west. To the north however the way was open, and the runic system of writing, with twenty-four characters equal in number to those of the Greek alphabet, became established in the Teutonic regions near the Baltic at a date that may be fixed about III A.D. From this centre it was diffused into all the countries to which the various Teutonic tribes of the north betook themselves in their migrations. In Gaul in VI we learn from a couple of illuminating lines in one of the poems of Venantius Fortunatus that runic writing on ashen tablets was quite well understood and that for this purpose smooth wooden staves might take the place of paper.[1] Runic writing however was never really in vogue in the southern and more thoroughly romanized lands which had passed under Germanic control, and the few inscriptions, none of them lapidary, known in Gaul and southern Germany cease about the year 700, after which time no continental inscriptions save a few of the Viking period and character can be found. On the other hand in the North it was entirely at home, so that runic inscriptions swarm in the Scandinavian kingdoms, while Great

[1] *Miscellanea*, lib. vi, c. xviii, ad Flavum, in Migne, *Patrol. curs. compl.*, Ser. Lat., LXXXVIII, p. 256—

'Barbara fraxineis pingatur runa tabellis,
Quodque papyrus agit, virgula plana valet.'

Britain comes next in the richness of its repertory. The runic futhorc of twenty-four letters was carried by the Saxons and Angles on their migration to the west and south that brought them first into what is now north Germany and Holland and then into England, and there is a group of inscriptions known as 'Anglo-Frisian' that represents the mode of writing employed in V, VI and VII in Friesland and in Great Britain. The earliest is on a coin found in Friesland and dating about V, Fig. 16, line β, but a particularly interesting example is an inscription of about 500 A.D. incised on wood on the blade of a small model sword found in a Frisian terp or artificial mound reared to keep buildings out of the way of floods. This is shown No. 2 on Pl. XXV.

The earliest English inscription is also on a coin which is in the British Museum dating in VI, Fig. 16, line γ, and there are other datable inscriptions on coins and other objects of VII from which it is possible to make out a set of characters used up to and about the year 700. Such futhorcs are given in Fig. 16 which requires a word of explanation. The vertical columns are numbered, and at the top of each is placed a modern letter or combination of two letters, runic characters corresponding to each finding their places below. The horizontal spaces are marked with Greek letters and each shows the runic characters found on the monument or group of monuments named in the column on the dexter side of the illustration. The uppermost space, marked α, contains a standard futhorc derived mainly from a list given in a manuscript from Salzburg now in the Vienna library and ascribed to the hand of the famous Alcuin. The manuscript however, according to the only published account of it,[1] is only a later copy of Alcuin's text, and it does not seem clear from Grimm's account whether or not the table of runes belongs certainly to Alcuin's part of the MS. When happier times recur this

[1] Written by Wilhelm Carl Grimm and published in the *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur*, vol. XLIII, Wien, 1828.

MS. at Vienna should be carefully examined from the point of view of English runology. The characters were published by J. M. Kemble in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxviii, Pl. xv, Fig. 7. The other horizontal lines give only the characters found on the particular inscribed monuments indicated. These monuments, Frisian or English, β to η, are all of early date. Those on the two lowest of the horizontal spaces on the other hand, κ, λ, are much later, and the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses occupy a position between.

The history of the Anglo-Frisian futhorc is interesting in comparison with that of the set of characters used in Scandinavian lands. In the latter region characters as time went on were lost till the futhorc came to consist only in sixteen characters, many of which showed marked variations from the forms of the older common Germanic futhorc that remained in use in the Anglo-Frisian province. In this province moreover not only did the original forms for the most part endure but by modifications of the older ones extra characters were gradually added till the whole number was thirty-three. Some of these later characters, Nos. 29 and 30, are used in the inscriptions on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses and this fact has of course an important bearing on the question of the date of these monuments. It is however a difficult matter for the runologist to decide how early a particular form of letter may have been employed, and certain usages might possibly be of a more or less local character. These two characters on the crosses do not, as will be seen in line α, occur in the list in the Salzburg MS. If this be rightly ascribed to Alcuin, he as a Northumbrian born must be expected to know all the characters in use in his own time, about the end of VIII, in the region of his birth and upbringing, and the appearance on the crosses of these characters, not recognized in the manuscript, would be a somewhat weighty argument against a date for the crosses in VII. The argument is however sensibly weakened by the following consideration.

There is a set of runic characters inlaid on the blade of a sword of the pattern known as 'scramasax' that was found in the Thames and is now preserved in the British Museum, and this futhorc, that agrees in the main with that of the Salzburg manuscript, does not show these later characters. The form of this weapon however belongs rather to the Viking or Danish period of our national antiquities than to VII or VIII, and from this and from the place of its discovery, London, it may be ascribed with some confidence to IX or X, by which time the extra characters will certainly have been in use. Their non-appearance on the scramasax and in the Salzburg alphabet may simply show that though in existence at the time they were only used locally or for other reasons were not regarded as a necessary part of the futhorc. It is noteworthy too that though the two crosses with which we are now dealing are obviously contemporary yet the runic characters are by no means entirely the same, as will be seen by comparing the two sets of characters in the illustration,[1] and this is just a case of that freedom in the use of the letters which makes it impossible to give too much chronological importance to the appearance or absence in special cases of this or that particular character. When this is said however it still remains a fact that the appearance on the crosses of these seemingly late additions to the runic futhorc is an argument, though not a conclusive one, against an early date. On both the crosses the runic D, Fig. 16, column 24, appears in its later form, with the uprights extending above and below the cross-strokes, but as this was found on one of the Hartlepool stones (no. 1) it may have come into use early in the North. The chronology of the Anglo-Saxon futhorc has never yet been clearly constituted, and archaeological evidence, that is, evidence of the age of a runically inscribed object other than that of the inscription itself, must contribute to its ultimate establishment.

[1] See also the full treatment of these differences in the philological discussion in Chap. IX (p. 245).

There is at any rate no doubt whatsoever that the character of the runes on the crosses is distinctively Anglo-Frisian. This futhorc differs from that found in Gallic and other continental inscriptions in the use of a special character for O, a modification of the original A rune, shown in column 4 Fig. 16. This consideration moreover, coupled with the fact that south of the Channel and the Rhine runic writing died out altogether at an early date, renders hopeless from the first any attempt to connect the monuments with the agency of Normans, or of ecclesiastical scholars and artists from any of the later mediaeval centres of art and culture in France or the Rhineland. If the Normans had brought runes over with them to France these would have had the Scandinavian not the Anglo-Frisian characteristics, and by the time the Vikings settled in Normandy the Franks had forgotten all about runic writing. It may be noted that neither in Frisia, nor in France, Germany, or Italy, are runic inscriptions *on stone* anywhere in evidence save in the case of certain later monuments of Viking date and origin. The lapidary inscription in runes is a speciality of Scandinavia and England.

Within what limits of date and place the Ruthwell and Bewcastle monuments, in their runic aspect, can be located is a question not easy to answer. The runes prove that they are certainly English in their origin, not Celtic, and not continental, but within what periods of old English history and in what parts of Great Britain the writing on them is possible is another matter. Apart from the additional characters and the D the futhorc of the monuments corresponds to those of the older inscriptions up to about 700 A.D. shown in lines β to η, and might be of the same early date, but as a fact this Anglian futhorc continued in occasional use for a couple of centuries or more after 700. The limited knowledge that has existed up to the present as to the chronology of the later inscribed and figured stones and of most of the other

monuments on which these characters appear, and the uncertainty as regards the dates and local provenance of English manuscripts where runes are to be found, make dogmatic statements hazardous. There is however one class of datable monuments that offer specimens of runes, and these are coins. On coins some chronological conclusions may be based, and the evidence of coins is against any late survival of Anglo-Saxon runes. Runic inscriptions on our native coins as a whole are rare, but they are much more common with us than in Gaul where there are only the faintest traces of runic characters on the early triental pieces. On our English coins of VII there are names of kings in full runic writing, but in VIII and IX such runic characters as appear are mixed with Roman letters that seem to be superseding them, and we find a name written sometimes partly in runes and partly in Roman capitals and at other times in the latter alone. The latest example given in the British Museum *Catalogue* of Anglo-Saxon coins [1] is Northumbrian of IX, and from beginning to end there are no runes on the coins of Wessex. On the other hand on a dated Wessex object of IX there is a runic character. This is the ring of Ahlstan, bishop of Sherborne from 824 to 867, now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The 'n' of his name is runic. The fact that runes seem to survive on the coins longer in the case of the names of the moneyers than in those of the kings [2] may be taken as showing that this was a popular rather than an official style of writing, a character runologists have assigned to it from its first inception among the Goths. It is a very doubtful question therefore (1) how far in IX or X runes of this kind were employed in the south of England, as for instance at Winchester; and (2) how near to the Norman Conquest their use may in any part of the country have extended. It is certain however that, as in Europe generally so in Great Britain, runic writing is distinctively a northern speciality,

[1] London, 1887, p. lxxxv.

[2] *Catalogue*, ubi supra, p. lxxxvii.

though there are (undated) runic monuments in the south, such as the inscribed tombstones at Canterbury and at Dover, of which due account must be taken.

Post-Conquest runic inscriptions exist, but this fact lends no colour to any argument for a corresponding date for the two crosses, because these inscriptions are not of the Anglian type. Owing to the Danish inroads Scandinavian forms of runic writing were introduced into this country, and there are many inscriptions in the Isle of Man that exhibit this character. There is also one specially important runic inscription of this kind in Cumberland, upon a font of XII, that is of Norman date and workmanship, preserved at Bridekirk, while on a carved tympanum at Pennington near Ulverstone, and on a stone of Carlisle Cathedral, there are inscriptions in Scandinavian runes also of Norman date. The Manx and Cumbrian runes are quite different from the older Anglo-Frisian series. The distinction between the two sets of characters is made abundantly clear by a comparison of lines κ and λ in the illustration, Fig. 16, with those above them. Some of the letters, such as those for F, U, R and L remain constant, but in the case of most of the others there are marked changes, e.g., in C, H, S, B, A, in face of which any confusion between the Anglian and the Scandinavian or Manx futhorcs is quite impossible.

English ecclesiastical scholars of XII, or those Norman ones that swarmed at the court of David of Scotland, would certainly not have possessed runic knowledge as a matter of tradition or training, and if they had sought for expert assistance in this matter they would certainly have been taught the futhorc in its Scandinavian not its older Anglian form. It is in the very highest degree improbable that they would have found any craftsmen who were masters of the older system, and could compose and carve fairly lengthy inscriptions in good old Northumbrian runes without introducing Scandinavian characters. The extra letters of columns 29

and 30 are it must be clearly understood not Scandinavian nor Manx, and are modifications of previously existing Anglo-Frisian runes. Some remarks on the phonetic value of these extra characters and on their relation to the other characters of the Anglian futhorc will be found in the next Chapter (p. 212). It is impossible to emphasize too strongly the fact that on the two crosses there are now legible between 400 and 420 runic characters, and, with one doubtful exception noticed (p. 248), none of these characters displays any tendency towards the Manx or Scandinavian forms such as occur on the Bridekirk font or the Norman tympanum at Pennington.

The inscriptions on the crosses, it may be repeated, are in old Anglian runes, and had they been cut in XII, according to the view of some antiquaries, this would be a case of atavism of a most curious and exceptional kind. That those responsible at that (assumed) epoch for the monuments should have desired to bring about this archaeological wonder is equally unlikely. Would these ecclesiastically-trained and Latin-writing scholars have surrendered the whole of the inscriptive spaces of the Bewcastle cross to antiquarian experiments in a vernacular style of writing that had been out of date for centuries, even incising in old runic characters the title of Christ over His effigy ? What was noticed above about the *popular* character of runic writing must here be taken into account. To ourselves of course a verse of old Anglo-Saxon poetry or a stave of Anglian runes is of more interest than pages of monkish Latin in the Anglo-Norman style, but the ecclesiastics of that day cared no more for the Anglo-Saxon vernacular or for runes, than the scribes of Ezra's school for the old Hebrew ballad poetry which they suffered to perish, or the dour Scottish Highland minister of later days for the Gaelic charms and songs and folklore the memory of which he would have been glad to bury in oblivion.

A Transatlantic scholar, to whom British antiquaries are greatly indebted for the valuable work which he has lavished

on the crosses, pleading in favour of a XII date, employed the following literary argument. In the poem called *The Dream of the Rood*, part of which is inscribed on the Ruthwell cross, there is a striking passage in which Christ is presented as an athlete of the heroic type who stripped Himself for the contest and proudly took his stand upon the cross. This the critic objects to on the ground of impropriety if not irreverence, though most people will be only impressed by the vigour of the thought underlying the expressions. He considers it as impossible at an early date, but surely a conception of such boldness suits far better the heroic age of Northumbria than the comparatively sophisticated XII, and is far more aptly expressed in Anglian runes than in the monkish Latin of the Middle Ages.

The foregoing has been occupied with the runes as a system of writing. The contents of the inscriptions thus executed must now have a word. Some amazing interpretations of these have been in times past promulgated, but not by competent scholars or by careful observers. Guesses have been made by older archaeologists that were founded on drawings, squeezes, or casts, from which no really satisfactory conclusions can be drawn, and there is a similar danger in reliance on the more modern aid to the investigator, the photograph. Only inspection of the originals, not only prolonged but repeated under varying conditions of light and aided by a magnifying glass, can avail to distinguish the accidental marks of weathering from the strokes of the tool that give the form of a letter. Scholarship and diligence have led in the case of both the crosses to a satisfactory result, and it is possible now to ignore the various conjectural renderings based on insufficient knowledge or study, as well as the *obiter dicta* of those observers who have decided after a hasty glance in unfavourable lighting at the Bewcastle cross that it was impracticable to decipher the runes.

It is now of course perfectly well known that the runes on

the lower panels of the two narrow sides of the Ruthwell cross contain some verses from an Anglo-Saxon poem about the Cross of Christ a more extended version of which is furnished by the manuscript quoted as the 'Vercelli Codex.' The existence of this written version makes absolutely certain the general sense of the clearly written but damaged inscription on the Ruthwell monument. The point is this. After Dr Duncan had set up the cross and made it available as a whole for study, but before the version in the Vercelli Codex was known, he submitted drawings of the runes to a Danish scholar who produced a most ludicrous rendering, that was capped by another still more ridiculous attested by a well-known Danish professor.[1] So far however were the runes from being incapable of scientific treatment that when a competent Anglo-Saxon scholar, J. M. Kemble, examined them he was able to decipher them with such accuracy that his rendering was afterwards found to be in almost exact agreement with the words of the same poem in the Vercelli Codex, *of which at the time Kemble had no knowledge*.[2] Kemble is the father of the modern study of Anglo-Saxon antiquities, and he never gave any better proof of his mastery of this field of study than this brilliant success.

In the case of the runes on the other parts of the Ruthwell cross little or nothing can be done in the way of interpretation. The only characters that are absolutely clear on these other parts are those on the lower part of the sinister margin of the upper panel on the east face, the north-east corner of the shaft, and there are visible the runic equivalents of the letters DÆGISGÆF which do not occur in the Vercelli version of the poem and have not been interpreted. It must be noted too that these letters are set differently from those across the margins of the lower panels, and agree in their vertical alignment with the Latin lettering on the broad faces.

[1] *Archaeologia Scottica*, IV, 313 f., Edinburgh, 1857.
[2] *Archaeologia*, XXVIII, 327; XXX, 31.

It seems therefore improbable that other parts of the poem were inscribed on the upper panels. On the head of the cross, along the margins of the panel with the bird, runic characters are on the dexter margin easy to be read, but those on the other side cannot be deciphered with any assurance. Stephens read into these signs the often quoted words CADMON ME FAWED, ' Cadmon made me,' and interpreted them to mean that the poet of that name was the author of the Anglo-Saxon poem inscribed on the narrow sides. It needs hardly to be said that the ' ME ' in such a case would refer to the whole monument, not to a mere portion of the inscribed matter, and Cadmon is not known as the appellation of a carver. The fact is that neither the name Cadmon nor any other intelligible word or words can now be deciphered on the top or the sinister margin of the panel, but on the other hand, as the illustration Pl. XVI, 2 shows, the letters on the dexter margin can be read, as Stephens gives them,[1] FAUŒTHO with a possible MÆ as a bind-rune above and before it. Dr Henry Bradley describes the former word as ' mere jargon, not belonging to any known or possible Old English dialect,' [2] and with DÆGISGÆF it must be accepted in the meantime as among the runic inscriptions in which the letters are clear but the sense wanting.

As was mentioned above (p. 126) there are runic characters on the side and top margins of the panel with the Visitation on the Ruthwell cross. They are tantalizing to the investigator for enough is left to stimulate inquiry while no full elucidation is possible since only about half of the inscribed margins is preserved, new stones replacing the lower portions. One point of importance is clear. The characters are certainly runic, and as connected with one of the figure subjects are exceptional on the cross, unless the figure of the Archer on the panel immediately above was flanked by runes. These

[1] The Ruthwell Cross, etc., Copenhagen, 1866, a portion separately published of the author's *Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England.*

[2] *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., art. ' Cædmon.'

runic characters of the Visitation panel represent an intrusion of the runic element on the domain of the Latin epigraphist that has some significance. The characters on the dexter margin are (exceptionally) placed so as to be read from a position on the sinister side of the panel, but it must be remembered that the present beginning of the lettering does not represent the original starting-point. The lowest character now visible is a runic M and there follow letters which if the faint but hardly mistakable indications be followed would complete the word MARTHA. The first character on the upper margin is again an M and MARIAM has been suggested. A clear I comes in the right place but the reading cannot be verified and against it is the fact that the line of characters on this top margin ends in an indubitable R. It is of course possible that through the scriptural association of the names ' Martha ' and ' Mary ' the cutter was led into the curious blunder of using the former name instead of ' Elizabeth.' The stone cutter himself would be more likely to make the mistake than would an ecclesiastic, and this may be held to throw some light on the question previously mooted (p. 48 f.), Who is responsible for the form of the inscriptions ?

By far the most important part of the extant lettering is to be read on the sinister margin, where a Latin word, not a proper name, is written in runic characters, the most striking instance of this interpenetration of the two forms of inscription. The word here is DOMINN(Æ), all the characters being abundantly clear except the last which is somewhat faint. The facsimile, Fig. 18, 8 (p. 246), should be examined. The initial D and the M when compared show the same cross between two uprights, but it comes much lower down in the former case than in the latter in accordance with the shape of the characters as given Fig. 16, ι, 24, 20. Enough is left of the M to make the identification sure.

It should be explained that special attention has been paid to this in many respects doubtful inscription, because of the

important fact, about which there is no manner of question, that the characters employed are runic.

Figs. 17 (p. 204) and 18 (p. 246) with Pl. xxvi and Pl. xxv, 4, 5, give in photograph or in practical facsimile all the runic inscriptions on the two crosses that can with certainty be transliterated. Over and above what is there given and the faint 'Martha' there are only a few scattered characters, mainly on the horizontal margins of the panels at Bewcastle, that can be identified. Maughan read here a good deal more than can now be attested. The characters on the (lost) epistyle of the Bewcastle cross are given, Fig. 18, 2, from the copy pasted into Camden's *Britannia* (p. 114).

In the case of the runes at Bewcastle there have been the usual conjectures advanced on insufficient evidence, and statements have more than once been published to the effect that interpretation is here hopeless. These guesses and confessions of failure have been quoted as a reason for ignoring the runes altogether, and a distinguished foreign writer on mediaeval art, who ascribes the monument to XII, has 'arrived at the conclusion that the Bewcastle inscription has, hitherto, been interpreted in too many different ways for any certain date to be based upon it.'[1] Another statement of a rather unfortunate kind has been made by two writers who have rendered excellent service by emphasizing the difference between the runes on the crosses and those on the Bridekirk font.[2] The statement is made on the supposed authority of Professor Viëtor, whose work *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*[3] is necessarily in the hands of every one who studies this subject. It is to the effect that 'the letters shown in the photographs are not really engraved on the stone at all, but were painted, apparently largely from conjecture, by the antiquarian Maughan, a former vicar of the parish, in 1856.' A reference is given to page 14 of Viëtor's work, but all that Viëtor says

[1] Commendatore Rivoira, in *The Burlington Magazine*, April 1912, p. 24.
[2] *The Burlington Magazine*, April 1914. [3] Marburg, 1895.

either there or in any other part of his book is 'leider hat Maughan die von ihm gelesenen Runen wahrscheinlich 1856 mit dunkler Oelfarbe übermalt (!)'—'unfortunately Maughan apparently in 1856 painted over the runes which he had read with dark oil paint (!).' Now Maughan, who was rector of Bewcastle for thirty-seven years and devoted much attention to the cross, wrote a pamphlet upon it, which, though rare—it is not in the British Museum—exists in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.[1] A perusal of what he reports of his own proceedings shows that he did not at first attempt to paint over the separate runes, that is letter by letter, but in order to get rid of the distractions caused by the varieties of local colouring on the monument he gave the whole panel a coat of paint so as to produce a surface quite uniform in colour as in a cast.[2] Later on it appears from certain reports and letters[3] that Maughan did actually paint some or all of the runic characters in accordance with his reading of them, but he distinctly denies, especially as regards the main panel, that he painted arbitrary characters on parts of the stone where there were no incisions. The idea that such arbitrarily painted characters exist on the stone is absolutely without foundation. As any one can see who takes the trouble to visit the spot every visible character is incised, and every character has the appearance of being part of the original work. There is no sign of falsification or juggling.

[1] *A Memoir of the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle*, by the Rev. John Maughan, A.B., rector of Bewcastle, Cumberland, London, 1857.

[2] On his p. 12 Maughan says that he had been censured 'for painting the inscribed portions of the cross,' and he denies that he 'injured the cross in the slightest degree by painting a few portions of it'; in a note to p. 18 he writes 'I next obtained a mould and cast of the inscribed part in plaster of Paris, but without any great result. *I then gave these parts a coat of paint which rendered the letters more distinct than the cast.* I afterwards tried some rubbings,' etc. The italics are not in the original.

[3] The passages will be found in the very useful compilation by Professor Albert Cook of Yale, entitled *Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross between the Years 1607 and 1861*, New York, 1914, pp. 58, 70 f., 139 f.

The present aspect of the letters of the long inscription is however such as to make plausible the suggestion that someone, if not Maughan himself, has actually painted over the marks character by character, and this has led many to conclude that it is no good arguing about the interpretation of the letters since what we see is not necessarily the original chiselling but the marks made by the perhaps erroneously directed paint-brush of some modern amateur. Now it is true that a dark-coloured deposit which has given rise to this supposition clings to the hollow parts of many of the letters. Portions of this, which can easily be picked off, have been most kindly examined and analysed by Dr Westergaard, Professor of Mycology in the Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh, with the result that the deposit proves to be merely lichen, and not oil paint at all! Whatever may have been said in the past about painting the Bewcastle shaft, or having it 'washed over with a white oily cement' (Maughan's *Memoir*, p. 12), there is no question that at present the surface of the stone is in all parts free from any artificial coating. Like the colouring on the Elgin marbles, any adventitious aids to the effect of the sculpture or inscriptions have now happily been removed by time. The only possible exceptions are some trifling marks on the northern face that are conceivably the relics of some form of artificial overlay.

It is necessary to give these details in order to show that it is quite erroneous to suppose that the interpretation of the Bewcastle runes is a hopeless matter. Time and patience are however essential if there is to be any chance of success. Most visitors to that not very accessible spot arrive in the afternoon when the light is full upon the western face where is the inscription, and are disappointed that there is so little to be made out. An hour or two earlier, when the sun was just coming round from the south and the light struck across the inscribed face, the markings would have been seen distinct in light and shade; and at such a time very many of the char-

acters are quite unmistakable though in the case of others accidental weather and lichen marks make sure identification difficult. Now Maughan expressly tells his readers that it was only by examining the characters repeatedly in all sorts of lights that he was able to assure himself of their forms, and the readings that he finally published were the outcome of much time and care. Viëtor, as a trained scholar, came to Bewcastle as he tells us 'with a prejudice rather against than in favour of Maughan's reading' but confesses that against his expectation he found that he was in large measure right![1] Maughan was of course not a Kemble, but it is due to his memory to point out that by the patient application of a sound method he established a reading which, be it right or wrong, has practically held the field ever since. The variety in the interpretations of which Rivoira speaks (p. 197) belongs to the time before Maughan published his final reading. As regards the joint authors of the present Volume, we may state that, as the result of a repeated examination of the stone in every part in different lights with a magnifying glass, there is no hesitation in saying that of all the characters Maughan affected to read thereon more than half can be read now with reasonable assurance, and confirm in general the readings of Maughan. There is no doubt about the character of the main inscription, which is in prose and states that the monument was set up in commemoration of a personage named in the inscription, and which in all respects follows well-established formulae of the times. Furthermore, as will be shown in the next chapter but one, there is really no practical doubt about the interpretation of at any rate the first seven and, in part, the eighth of the nine inscribed lines.

[1] *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, p. 14. 'Ich habe die Pausen zwar nicht ohne Rücksicht auf die mir wohlbekannte, wesentlich Maughan'sche Lesung bei Stephens, jedoch eher mit einem Vorurteil gegen als für sie geprüft und wenigstens in der Hauptinschrift über Erwarten viel Maugansches wiedergefunden.'

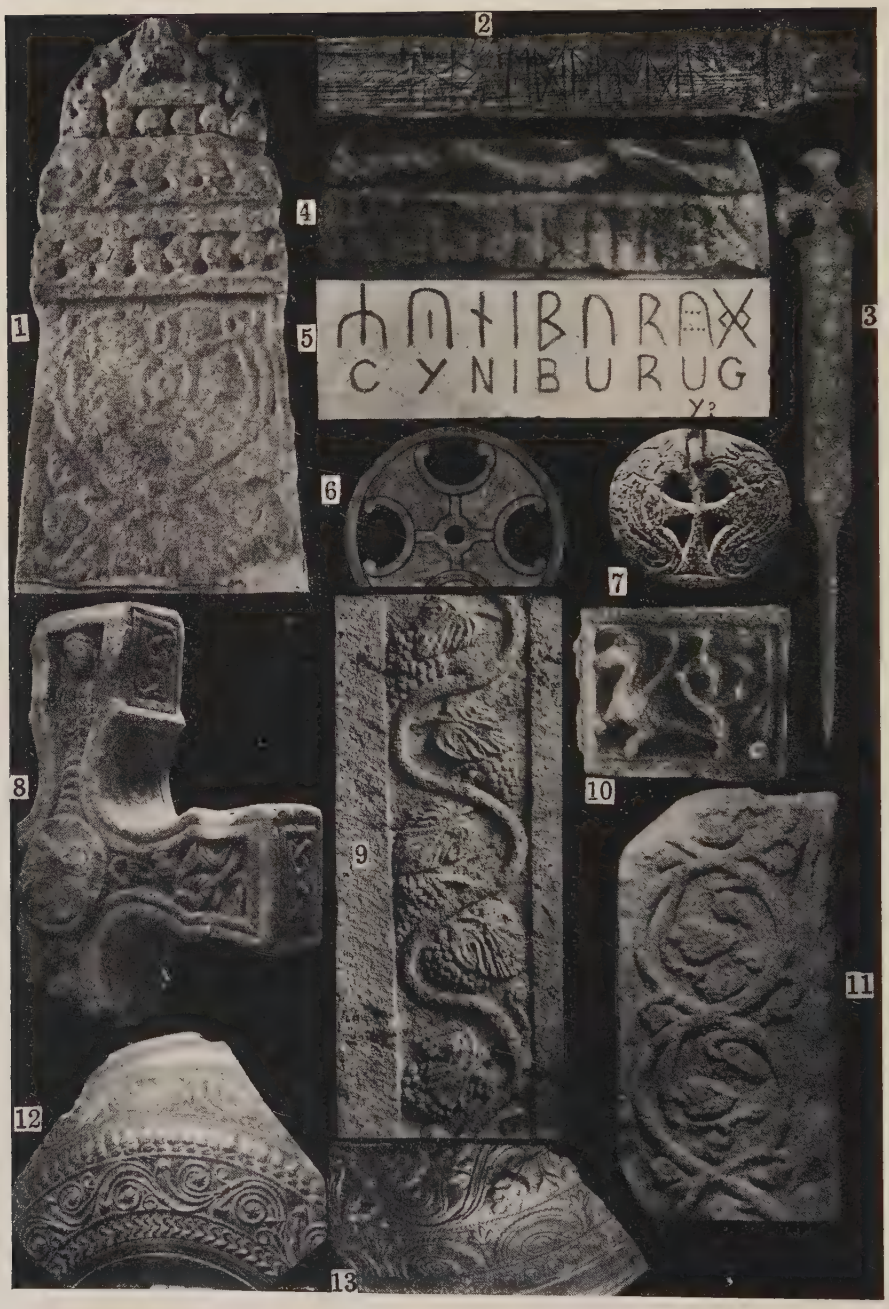

PLATE XXV

PLATE OF DETAILS, see p. xii

There are even plainer runes than these upon the Bewcastle cross. The title of Christ, †GESSUS CRISTTUS, Fig. 18, 4, above the figure below which is the main inscription, is absolutely clear, but the most legible word in the whole monument is to be found low down on the northern side, where, as Maughan pointed out, it was sheltered by the contiguous wall of the church and preserved from the action of the weather. This word, with the runes and the transliteration, is shown in Nos. 4, 5 on Pl. xxv. Readers of Bede will remember that Oswy King of Northumbria had a son Alcfrith, whom he seems to have made under-king in Deira, and who as a friend and abettor of Wilfrid was instrumental in bringing about the famous Synod of Whitby, so momentous for the history of the early Anglo-Saxon church. Alcfrith, about whom we hear a good deal from Bede,[1] married, the historian tells us, the princess Cuniburga daughter of Penda of Mercia, a lady of such distinction that when later in her life she presided over the convent at Castor near Peterborough she so impressed herself on the locality that down to our own

[1] In view of a statement in a recent book on the crosses to the effect that 'one may well doubt whether Alcfrith, "under-king of Deira," the mysterious prince of Bewcastle, ever lived,' it is worth while to gather together the notices in Bede and other writers. Bede calls him 'king,' iii, 25; iii, 28; v, 19, and in the first passage indicates that he was reigning at the same time as his father Oswy. That he was under-king of Deira is stated by Florence of Worcester *ad ann.* 664, and Eddius (*Vita Wilfridi*, c. 7) also says that he reigned with his father, against whom however, probably at the end of his life, Bede tells us (iii, 14) he rebelled. At the Synod of Whitby in 664 he took the side of the Roman party (iii, 25). He was pupil (iii, 25) and friend (v, 19) of Wilfrid to whom he gave lands at Stamford (v, 19) and the monastery at Ripon (iii, 25) which he had himself founded (Bede, *Vit. Cudb.*, c. 7), and he would have accompanied Benedict Biscop to Rome but for the opposition of his father Oswy (Bede, *Hist. Abbatum*, s 2). He was also a friend of Bishop Adelbert of the West Saxons (iii, 25) and of Cenwalh, king of Wessex (Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 7). He is also mentioned in the genealogies, see Oman, p. 654. We hear nothing of him after the Synod of Whitby in 664. There is not the smallest reason to doubt the authenticity of the notices quoted above, and an almost equal degree of certainty attaches to the appearance of his name on the Bewcastle cross.

time a path in the parish has been known as 'Lady Connyburrow's way.'[1] Cuniburga's name still confronts us on the Bewcastle cross, see Pl. XXVIII, and that of Alcfrith is legible as will be seen (pp. 255 f., 268 f.) in the main inscription.

Maughan professed to read a good many other words and names on the cross that cannot now be established, but it needs hardly to be pointed out how important in the light of history is the conjunction on the stone of these two known names of a Northumbrian prince and his royal bride, connected as he was with that notable event, the Synod of Whitby of 664 A.D. The adherents of a VII date for the cross, or crosses, for Bewcastle carries with it Ruthwell, naturally claim this as an argument on their side of almost overpowering weight. The attempt on the other side to explain away 'Cyniburug' and make it mean something quite different from its obvious significance need hardly be taken seriously. The name is certainly not a modern forgery for William Nicolson, Archdeacon and later on Bishop of Carlisle, read it on the cross more than two centuries ago.[2] See also Chapter IX (p. 260 f.).

[1] Bridges, *History of Northamptonshire*, Oxford, 1791, II, 499, 'In Castre field is a ridge or balk, from Kyneburga, corruptly called "Lady Connyburrow's way."' The writer visited the spot a year or two ago and found the name still in use. It is the causeway of the old Roman Ermine Street, and the connection with it of the name of the Mercian princess reminds us that the names of legendary Frankish heroines are attached to this day to some of the Roman roads in north-eastern France.

[2] See Professor Albert Cook's reprints of notices of the Bewcastle Cross (p. 198, note 3). Nicolson's notices are printed there, pp. 3 f., 9 f.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS, CONTINUED; (*a*) AT RUTHWELL, A RUNOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDY

THE FOLLOWING are the headings under which the discussions in this chapter have been arranged :—

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I. The deciphering of the runes	205
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IV. The transliterated text	217
V. The inscription and the poem	217
(1) The correspondence of the two texts	217
(2) The content of the poem	222
(3) The authorship of the poem	224
(*a*) Cædmon	224
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The reading of the runic characters carved on the north and south borders of the east and west faces of the Ruthwell cross provides us with four short groups of verse, which can be said at once to be Northumbrian in dialect and probably an early rather than a later example of that dialect. Hopes of an exacter impression of time and place depend in the first instance on the trustworthiness of the text established, and

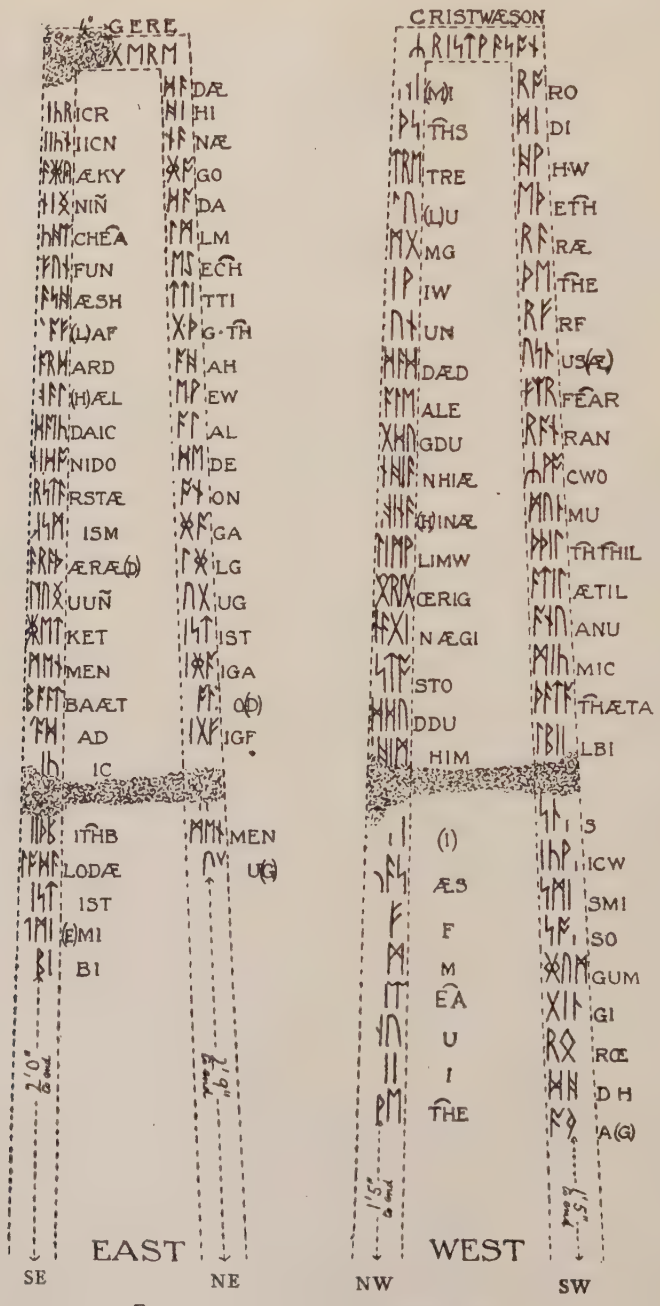


FIG. 17.—Runes on the Ruthwell Cross.

therefore on the accuracy with which the runes can be deciphered and transliterated. As the editorial history of the text shows, both these processes allow in the result considerable difference of opinion. The following text is the result of a new, independent, and repeated examination of the runes on the monument, which are displayed in Fig. 17 in their proper positions on the narrow margins that they occupy.

In the vexed circumstances in which busy modern debate has left this fragment it may be well to state the principles on which the runes have been read and treated.

I. The Deciphering of the Runes

The canons observed in the preparation of the runic text are these :—

(1) No letter has been admitted to the text that cannot be certified to-day on the stone, and no appeal has been made to casts or photographs or to anything but the stone itself.

(2) There are letters of which only parts are decipherable —one only of two upright shafts, for instance, or part of an upright, or the upright but not the lateral strokes, or only one of two laterals, or again a lateral but not the turn-up stroke. In some of the cases, the letter cannot be inferred without prejudice to the transliteration. The last rune on the N.E. border, for instance, might, epigraphically, have been either of the two forms of the *g*-rune ; and the third rune in *.i.æs* at the foot of the N.W. border might similarly have been either of the two runes used to distinguish the front and back sounds of *c*. Such letters therefore have not been admitted to the text.

(3) In other cases, where part of the letter is lost, the part

that is decipherable may provide a form which can belong to one rune only. Such letters are held to be established epigraphically by the characteristic portions of the forms which belong to them alone, and they appear therefore in the text. The examples are :—the *d*-rune of *.o(d)iğ*, the *l*-rune of *h(l)afard*, the *h*-rune of *(h)ælda*, the *d-rune* of *.ismæræ(d)u*, the *e*-rune of *.ist(e)mi*, the *æ*-rune of *fus(æ)*, the *g*-rune of *h.a(g)*, the *l*-rune of *stre(l)um*, the *h*-rune of *(h)inæ*, the *m*-rune of *(m)iþ*.

(4) Where readings remain uncertain or are absent, letters once read in whole or in part by former editors are recorded in the notes. Viëtor in his latest version admits such readings to the text on the ground that the latter should rest on the whole historical material.[1] They are certainly part of the whole linguistic evidence ; and they are admitted, on merit and with discretion, to the later discussion. In the present editing however they have been relegated textually to the notes rather than inserted in the text itself which conforms, and is confined, to what is decipherable.

(5) The plates or transcripts which may be used in collation,[2] subject to the conditions stated above, are :—

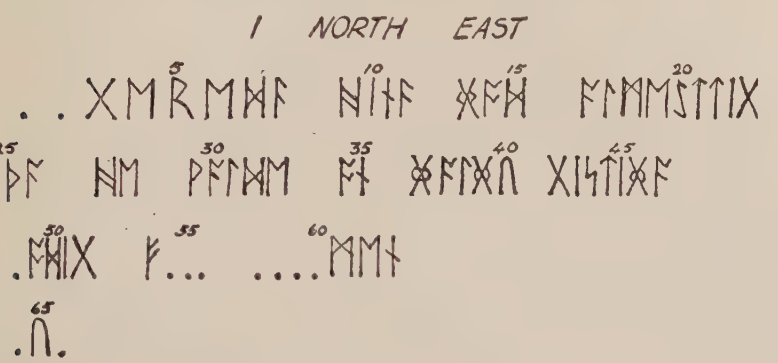
1705. Hickes, *Thesaurus, Gram. Island.*, Pl. 4 . . = H.
1726. Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, Pl. 57 . = G.
1789. Cardonnel, *Monumenta Vetusta*, II, Pl. 54 . = C.
1832. Duncan, *Archaeol. Scot.*, IV, Pl. 14 . . . = D.
1838. Kemble, *Archaeologia*, XXVIII, pp. 353-5 . . = K.
1866. Stephens, *Ruthwell Cross* . . . . = St.
1867. Stuart, *Sculp. Stones of Scot.*, II, Pls. 19, 20 . = Stu.

[1] 'Ich habe . . . mir . . . bei der feststellung des lesebuchtextes gesagt, dass nicht sowohl die jetzige lesung, so wie sie erscheint, als vielmehr ein auf dem ganzen, auch historischen material beruhender text zu geben ist.' Letter from Viëtor to Schipper, 23 Oct. 1909. Cf. Zupitza-Schipper, *Alt-u-Mittelenglisches Übungsbuch*, Elfte Auflage, 1915.

[2] Complete collation will be found in Zupitza-Schipper, *op cit.*, pp. 3-6, and (omitting Stuart) in Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie*, II, 1894, pp. 111-14.

II. The Text of the Runes

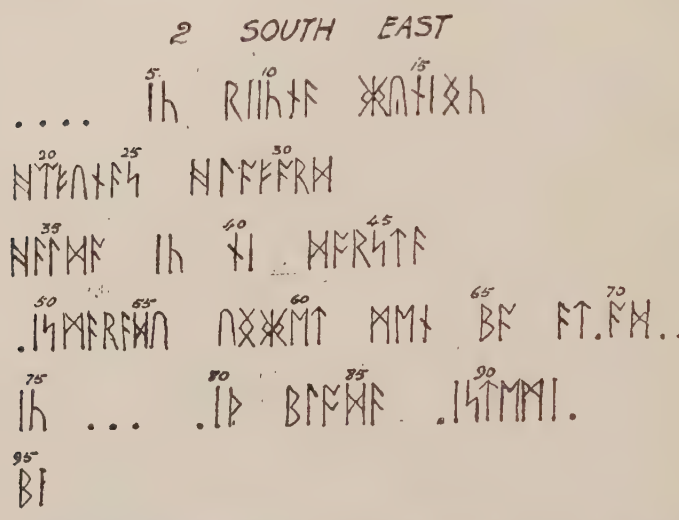
(1) On the north or sinister border of the east face :—



3-6. Occupy 5 in. on sinister side of transom, and are preceded by 4 in. of worn and cemented surface. Nothing legible. The stone had probably worn before it was cemented over. There is room for three signs. The first may have been a cross, followed by two runes=*on* or *un*. Cf. Lindis. Mt., 27, 31, *ongeradon*, and Rush., *ungeredun*. 20. Sweet (*O.E.T.*, p. 125) says ᛇ is impossible, and suggests an *h* rune with some strokes worn away. There is no trace of such wearing. ᛇ is clearly and sharply cut. 48. Illegible. H., G., D., K., St., and Stu., *m*. 50. Dexter upright, traces of a lateral, and top and bottom of a sinister shaft can be read. All plates read *d*. 54. Three or more inches of cement cover one line, and all but the whole of another. For the first H. gives *fare* ; G., C., St., and Stu., *fore* ; D., only *r*. Of the second the bottom of two shafts emerge from the cement. H., G., D., and K. omit ; C. allows for it, but cannot read it ; Stu. shows ends of four shafts below the cement. 64. Illegible. Stu. gives an imperfect *b* ; D., a single upright. 65. Practically the whole outlines of *u* visible. 66. Top half of one of the two runes for *g* legible. Stone quite worn away below. 66. Below this line the border extended 2 ft. 9 in. Runes were probably

carved to the foot, which would give some thirteen lines or more, and more than thirty runes. All traces now effaced.

(2) On the south or dexter border of the east face :—

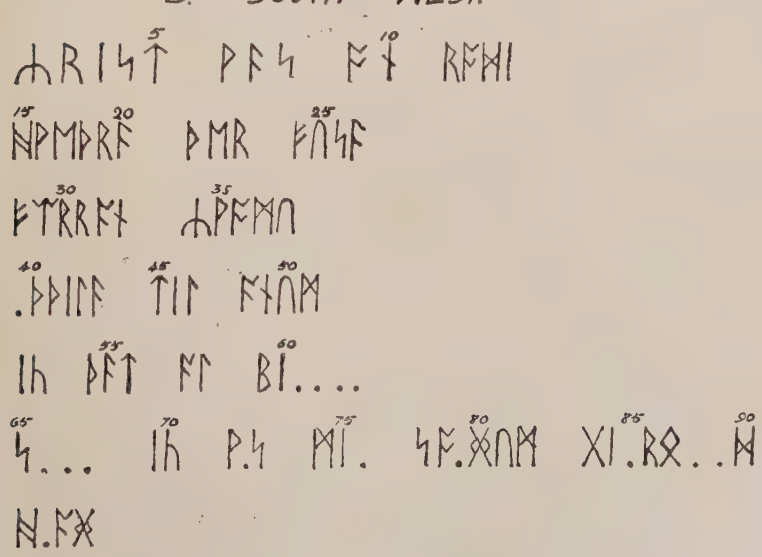


1. Under the dexter side of the transom the first line of the border is in part worn, and in part cemented over. H. gives *g* and two uprights ; G., the fragments of letters ; C., *i* and *e* or *m*. 14. The rune is the *u* in outline, with centre part much worn, but with distinct traces of the *y* stroke there. H. and D. give *r* ; G. and C., *u* ; K. and St., *y*. 27. Top lateral only shows. H., G., and C. give *l*. 33. Sinister upright and parts of two laterals are all that remain clear. *b* is clear in plates from H. to D. 43. H., D., K., St., and Stu. give *a* ; G. and C. give *o*. But the turn-up stroke of the second lateral is clear, though the lateral itself is not. 48. Part of the lower loop of a probable *b* is all that is visible ; but *b* is distinct in H., G., and C. 55. Dexter upright, and traces of obliques on dexter side, are legible ; but not the sinister upright. H. gives a clear *d* ; the others, less clear or doubtful *d*'s. 56. Begun as *m* or *e*, and corrected to *u*. 59. The two points and upper half of middle upright are clear. The lower

part is less clear. The whole letter, though faint and worn, is not to be doubted. 69. The top sinister slope of a letter which may have been either of the two runes for *g* is visible. Earlier readings do not help. 72-3. Illegible. G., H., St. give *e* for 73, but Stu., *d*. 76. 3½ in. of cement cover a line. No early readings. 79. Sinister upright of letter clear, but nothing else. 86. The first lateral is clear, and the second just visible. 87. Illegible. D. and Stu. give *b*. 91. Only sinister upright and part of sinister oblique visible. 94. Illegible. 96. From this line to the foot of the border is 2 ft. The sculptor would have nine or ten lines at disposal, holding about forty runes, since at this point he was carving on an average four runes to the line.

(3) On the south or sinister border of the west face :—

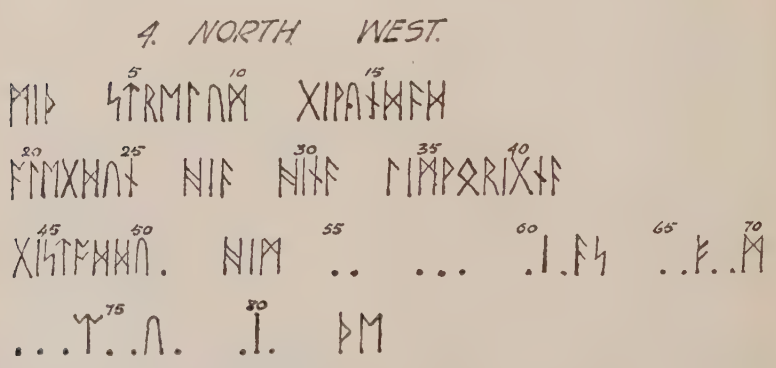
3. SOUTH WEST.



1. There is room for a sign before the first letter. H., G., K., St. give a cross. Indistinct in C. and G. 27. Upper lateral of letter gone ; stone worn away. But the alignment clearly implies the full *æ*-rune. 39. The upright is clear, and

faint traces of lower lateral visible. H., G., Stu. give *æ*. 61. Letter much worn. Dexter upright only visible. H. gives *h*; G., C., D., and St., an upright only. 62-4. 2½ in. of cement. No readings. 65. *s* very plain. 66. Upright and one lateral traceable. D and Stu. give *æ*. 67-8. Only bottom part of one letter visible. No readings. 72. Bottom of an upright only. St. and Stu. give *æ*. 79. Bottom of an upright remains, perhaps the shaft of *r*. 85. A dexter upright and one lateral can be read. 88-9. Nearly 2 in. of the stone is worn away after this on the sinister edge of the border. No readings. 91. Whole outline of *h* quite clear. 92. Lost, where edge of stone is worn. 94. The first half of the rune for the back stop *g* is clear. The whole rune ᚷ (*gar*) is thus given. From here to the foot of the border is 1 ft. 5 in., carrying perhaps six lines and about eighteen runes. Illegible now.

(4) On the north or dexter border of the west face :—



1. Two bottom shafts clear, and the sufficient beginnings of a middle oblique. Stone broken off on dexter side; G. gives clear *m*. 8. Top of upright, and beginning of top lateral visible. H., G., and C. give *l*. 25. Upright and lateral of *n* clear, but bottom of shaft rather worn away. 29. Bottom of dexter shaft, whole of sinister shaft, and two laterals legible.

This gives a certain *h*. Early plates all give *h*. 37. Cut first as X (*gifu*), and joined afterwards at top to form the *æ*-rune. 41. Whole outline of *n* plain. 51. Top of upright only visible. H., G., and C. give *n*. 52. Fracture of stone across the second oblique of *h*, but whole letter clearly given. 55-9. 3 in. and more of cement cover one line and half of another. No early readings. 60-1. The bottom of an upright and the whole of another upright can be read on the sinister side of the border. 62. A sinister curve at the foot of a letter is all that is visible. 65. From this point on only the letters printed in the text, and read under each other on the sinister side of the border, are visible. One line is covered altogether, and 2½ in. of stone are worn away on the dexter edge. The text must be given up as irrecoverable. 76. A sinister upright and the suggestion of an oblique can be traced. 79. An upright is traceable. 82. The top of the shaft is worn away, but the letter is clear. 83. Below this is 1 ft. 5 in. of border. This would hold six lines and about twenty runes, but nothing remains.

III. The Transliteration of the Runes

The following notes deal with certain orthographic distinctions observed in the present transliteration :—

(1) O.E. *c* (=Gmc. ^{+}k) was the symbol of two sounds, a back voiceless stop, and probably a front voiceless stop. Before original back vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*, and their umlauts *æ*, *e*, *y* (=Gmc. *a*, *o*, *u*, with *i*-umlaut), and before consonants *l*, *n*, *r*, etc., it was a back stop consonant. Before original front vowels, *i*, *e*, before Gmc. ^{+}j, and, when final, after front vowels, it was fronted and pronounced probably on a front stop.[1] In MSS. both sounds are as a rule written *c*. The

[1] Sweet, *H.E.S.*, pp. 142-4, and *A.S. Reader*, 8th ed., §§ 110-30; Wyld, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1899, pp. 134-41; Sievers, *Gram. of O.E.* (Cook), § 206; Bülbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 493 and note.

glossaries hardly distinguish between the two at all; and though *k* appears in some West-Saxon MSS., it is nowhere used consistently as a discriminating sign. In the earliest runic inscriptions the form for the original sound is ᚲ; and the oldest English runic inscriptions, such as that on the gold solidus imitated from a coin of Honorius,[1] and that on the Chessell Down scabbard mount,[2] show an intermediate form ᛣ. After the fronting of the sound before front vowels, the Anglian runic alphabet, and, so far as we judge from the few specimens in the South, the Anglian only, retained the original sign in a modified form for the new sound, and invented a new sign for the back stop. The Anglian futhorc therefore has separate symbols for the two sounds, ᚳ (*cen*) for the front, and ᚪ (*calc*) for the back. Ruthwell, further, has two forms for the latter sound, ᚪ for the normal back stop, and ᛤ (a modification of ᚷ *gar*, or perhaps of the *j*-rune, *ger*) for a front variety of it. In the present reading the distinction between back, front, and front-back sounds is kept by printing c for the back stop, ċ for the front, and k for the front-back. The examples are :—

ᚪ = c in crist, cwomu.
ᚳ = ċ in iċ, riiċnæ, kyniñċ.
ᛤ = k in uñket, kyniñċ.

(2) O.E. *g* was also the symbol of more than one sound, and its phonetic value is not always clear. Generally speaking it was a voiced consonant, back or front, and stop or open, according to the nature of its associated sounds, and under the same condition as those differentiating *e*. O.E. *g* (=Gmc. ^{+}g), before original back vowels and their umlauts, before O.E. *a* (=Gmc. *a*+nasals), and before consonants *l*, *n*, *r*, etc., also medially between back vowels, and finally after back vowels, was a back open-voiced consonant. At the end of the O.E.

[1] *Arts in Early England*, III, Pl. III, and pp. 68-9.
[2] Verified from the original.

period, as a late and rare development, it became a back stop voiced; but in early O.E. its use as a back open voiced is clear, and its history presents few difficulties.[1] In MSS. it was written *g*, and the original rune for it was ᚷ (*gifu*). But before front vowels, and before all diphthongs, and their umlauts, and after front vowels, it was fronted, and became a front open-voiced consonant. MSS. do not distinguish with any consistency. But later West Saxon often indicates the front sound by writing *e* after *g*. From this usage, from the nature of the sounds associated with it, and from the subsequent history of the word, its front value is generally clear. The Anglian runic alphabet expresses this value by means of the old rune ᚷ (*gifu*), and provides a special symbol ᚸ (*gar*) for the back.

There is a third *g* in O.E., (=Gmc. ^{+}j), which was either a front open-voiced consonant, or a vowel (*i*) with consonantal value. In either case its value was assimilated with that of the front *g* before the first texts in the Latin alphabet, and MSS. therefore observe no distinction in representing the sounds. The original *j*-rune was ᛋ; but though it appears in the O.E. runic poem as ᛄ (*ger*),[2] and in various abcdaria, there is no evidence that it was in use in England. The letter ᛡ (*iar*), which may be a survival or modification of *ger*, is found in two inscriptions—Dover, *gislheard*,[3] and Thornhill, *gilsuith*[4]—with the value of front *g*, and in two puzzling uses on the Brunswick casket[5]; but there seems to be no clear example in inscriptions of the value Gmc. ^{+}j. After its assimilation with front *g* it would be expressed by ᚷ (*gifu*); and it is to be noted that in the Bewcastle *ġessus*, *gifu* represents the Latin consonantal *i*. Ruthwell has only the back and front sounds of *g* (=Gmc. ^{+}g). In this text the distinction

[1] Sweet, *H.E.S.*, pp. 146-9, and *A.S. Reader*, §§ 110-30; Wyld, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-50; Sievers, *op. cit.*, § 206; Bülbring, *op. cit.*, § 492 and note.

[2] v. 32. Cf. v. 87. Bruce Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems*, pp. 16 and 22.

[3, 4] Verified from originals. [5] Verified from photograph.

is kept by printing g for the back consonant, and ġ for the front. The examples are :—

ᚷ=g in god, galgu, ġistiga, so . gum, h . a(g).
ᚸ=ġ in ġeredæ, almeḫttiġ, ġistiga, .o(d)iġ, ġi . rœ . . d, ġiwundæd, aleġdun, limwœriġnæ, ġistoddu.

It should be noted also that in the matter of these two sounds of *c* and *g*, the only evidence for their separate values, other than that of the inscriptions, is the indirect philological evidence of the original Gmc. sounds, of the nature of the associated sounds in O.E., of the later diphthongization of vowels after front *c* and writing of *e* after front g, of alternative spellings in early M.E., and of the subsequent history of the word. The Ruthwell text[1] therefore, with its remarkably developed phonetic sense, is, along with the inscriptions from the North of England, of prime importance in determining the pronunciation of these sounds in O.E., and generally in dating O.E. sound changes.[2]

(3) In general in runic inscriptions the *h* of the combination *ht* (χ*t*) is represented by the rune ᚻ. The fifth rune however in the word *almeḫttiġ* is ᛇ, the peculiar thirteenth letter of the runic poem. In early inscriptions this sign is rare. It is not found in the Scandinavian, and in German its value is uncertain. There are at least five other examples of its epigraphic use in England. On the Dover stone it appears in *gᛇslheard*[3]; on a Thornhill gravestone in *Eate*ᛇ*nne*[4];

[1] Sweet's text in *Oldest Eng. Texts*, 1885, p. 125, Viëtor's in *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, 1895, p. 6, and in Zupitza-Schipper, *op cit.*, pp. 6-7, and Kluge, *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, 4th ed., 1915, p. 114, observe the distinction in transliterating.

[2] It is to be noted however that the distribution of these symbols, and particularly of the *c* and *ċ* runes, on Bewcastle is by no means so clear or consistent as on Ruthwell, and involves certain difficulties as to the phonetic employment of the differing signs on the former monument which are not raised in the present case.

[3] p. 213, note 3, 4, value *i*.

[4] Verified from the original, value *i*.

on the Brunswick Casket in *Sigh*ᛇ*r*, and in *Mungpael*ᛇ [1]; and on the Cross Shaft at Urswick Church near Ulverston in *Toro*ᛇ*tredae*.[2] In Anglian futhorcs and in MS. runic alphabets of IX, X, and XI it appears with the names *eoh* and *ih*, and the sound values of *eo*, *i*, *h*, *ih*, *k*.[3] Some of these latter were no doubt given to it from the form of the name, from the West Saxon *eoh*, and the Anglian *ih*; and as the phonetic values which it bears in inscriptions may have been a similar inference, it is not easy to determine the original sound of which it was the symbol, or the exact sounds for which it stands in the six Anglian cases. It was probably at no time an unambiguous symbol. But it appears, in uncertain usage, to have represented the two sounds, *i*, χ; and it is the second of these for which it clearly does duty in the Ruthwell and Urswick examples. The original representation of the -χ*t* sound appears to have been *-ct*. This is the usual spelling in the glossaries, where *-cht* also occurs, and *-ht* only occasionally and doubtfully.[4] In Cædmon's *Hymn -ct* occurs in *maecti*, *dryctin*, and *allmectig*. The connection of the combination with its normal W.S. spelling *-ht* has been kept in the present text; but the letter has been distinguished from ordinary *h* by a diacritic.

(4) ᛝ, the twenty-second letter of the runic poem occurs twice in the inscription, in *kyniñc* and *uñket*. The origin of this rune appears to have been the cursive Greek double gamma, and it is possible that its earliest value was that of *n*+*g*. It represents here however the front or back nasal occurring in O.E. only before *g* or *c* (*k*). In MSS. this sound was not distinguished from the ordinary dental nasal *-n*.

[1] p. 213, note 3, 4.

[2] Verified from the original, see also Collingwood, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Archaeol. Soc.*, N.S. XI, 1911, p. 462.

[3] A list of these names and values is given by Miss Anna C. Paues, *Mod. Lang. Review*, VI, 1911, pp. 450-1.

[4] Sievers, *op. cit.*, § 221, n. 1; Bülbring, *op. cit.*, § 481; and Chadwick, *Studies in O.E.*, 1899, p. 241.

The runic distinction between the two sounds has been kept in transliteration by employing for ᚾ the ordinary phonetic symbol *-ñ*.

With these explanations of phonetic distinctions corresponding to formal differences in the runes themselves, the general principles observed in transliterating the runic text may now be summarized. They are as follows :—

(1) The transliterated text should correspond throughout to the runic ; and, to secure this, a single runic sign should be represented wherever possible by another single symbol. On this principle, then, ᚹ (*wyn*)=*w*, ᚦ (*thorn*)=þ, ᚫ (*æsc*) =*æ*, and ᛟ (*epel*)=*œ*.

(2) There is one rune to which this principle has not been applied. ᛠ (*ear*) is the rune for the O.E. diphthong *-ea* ; cf. *Bêâgnoth* on the Thames scramasax,[1] and *Gislhêârd* on the Dover stone.[2] It is transliterated here in *hêâfunæs*, *fêârran*, and in the single instance *-êâ*, in the last line, by the bind form *-êâ*, to mark the fact that the diphthong represents a single rune.[3]

(3) The transliteration should preserve all the runic evidence intact, and should therefore observe the distinctions discussed above in the *-c* and *-g* series, and in the *-n* and *-ñ*, and in the *-h* and *-ḥ* runes.

(4) Letters inferred from characteristic parts should be distinguished from letters deciphered in whole. This has been done by printing the former within brackets.

[1] *Victoria History*, London, I, 153.

[2] p. 213, note 3, 4.

[3] It should be remembered that in Northumbrian, and especially in early Northumbrian, this rune might represent also *-eo*. Confusion between these two diphthongs is a frequent, though not a distinctive, feature of this dialect ; cf. Bülbring, *op. cit.*, § 108 ; and Luick, *Historische Grammatik der eng. Sprache*, Leipsic, 1914, § 119 and § 133, Anm. 1. Further, the Salzburg alphabet gives the name *eor* and the value *eo* for the rune.

IV. The Transliterated Text

ᚳ=c ᚷ=g ᚻ=ḥ ᚹ=w ᚫ=æ ᛠ=ēa
ᚳ̇=ċ ᚷ̇=ġ ᚻ̃=ñ ᚹ̃=þ ᚩ=œ
ᚴ=k.

. . ġeredæ hinæ god almeḥttiġ
þa he walde on galgu ġistiga
. o(d)iġ f . . . . . men
. u .

. . . . iċ riiċnæ kyniñċ
hēafunæs h(l)afard
(h)ælda iċ ni dorstæ
. ismæræ(d)u uñket men ba æt . ad . .
iċ . . . . iþ blodæ . ist(e)mi .
bi

Crist wæs on rodi
hweþræ þer fus(æ)
fēarran cwomu
. þþilæ til anum
iċ þæt al bi . . . .
s . . . iċ w . s mi . so . gum
ġi . rœ . . d
h . a(g)

(m)iþ stre(l)um ġiwundæd
aleġdun hiæ (h)inæ limwœriġnæ
ġistoddu . him . . . . . i . æs
. . f . . m
. . . ēa . . u . . i . þe

V. The Inscription and the Poem

(1) *The Correspondence of the Two Texts*

The poem containing the lines to which these inscribed verses correspond, the *Vision of the Cross*, is preserved in the

Codex Vercellensis (Cod. cxvii), a miscellany of O.E. prose and verse in the Cathedral library of Vercelli.[1] The handwriting of this MS., which appears to be the same throughout its 135 written folios, is of late X[2]; and the 156 lines of our poem (ff. 104[b]-106[a]) are in the usual dialect of such collections; that is, in normal mixed late West Saxon. It is probable, and has hitherto been more or less assumed, that the basis of the majority of such texts was originally Anglian, and that it subsequently passed through various hands and finally into those of a West Saxon redactor. But it is by no means clear that this West Saxon character is due merely to later, or to the latest scribes. And it is at least possible that the linguistic poems in Vercelli are those rather of a mixed *literary* dialect. Förster has pointed out that it resembles the language written at Worcester at that period.[3] The MS. may have been produced at Worcester, or the literary language of Worcester may have extended beyond the boundaries of the diocese in X. Exacter interpretation of the language of the MS. will probably follow on the lines suggested by Förster.[4]

The following is the text of ll. 39 to 49[a] and ll. 56[b]-65[a] of the poem in *The Vision of the Cross* from the Vercelli MS.[5]:—

[1] Wülker, *Codex Vercellensis*, Leipsic, 1893—a facsimile of the poetical parts; Förster, *Il Codice Vercellese*, Rome, 1913—a facsimile of the whole MS.; and Förster, *Der Vercelli Codex*, cxvii, Halle, 1913—selections from the prose homilies.

[2] 960-80, Keller, *Angelsächsische Palaeographie*, Berlin, 1906, p. 46; 970-80, Keller, *Angelsächsische Schrift*, in Hoop's *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, i, 1911, p. 102; 'later decades of 10th century,' Förster, *Il Codice Vercellese*, pp. 11-14, and Brandl, *Geschichte der ags. Lit.*, Strassburg, 1908, p. 110; '2nd half of 10th century,' Holthausen, *Elene*, Heidelberg, 1905, p. ix. Wülker's 'offenbar aus dem anfang des 11 Jahrhs.' (*Codex Vercellensis*, p. vii) has not been endorsed since Keller.

[3] Förster, *Il Codice Vercellese*, pp. 19-20; and *Der Vercelli Codex*, pp. 33-5. Cf. Cook, *The O.E. Elene, Phœnix and Physiologus*, Yale, 1919, pp. vii, viii.

[4] Cf. Brotanck, *Anglia, Beiblatt*, xxvi, 1915, pp. 225-38.

[5] Grein-Wülker, *Bibl. der ags. Poesie*, ii, 1894, pp. 116-25; Cook, *Dream of the Rood*, Oxford, 1905; Sweet, *A.S. Reader*,[8] 1908, pp. 154-8 (ll. 1-89);

Ongyrede hine þa geong hæleð, þæt wæs god ælmihtig,
strang and stiðmod ; gestah he on gealgan heanne
modig on manigra gesyhðe, þa he wolde mancyn lysan.
Bifode ic, þa me se beorn ymbclypte : ne dorste ic hwæðre bugan to eorðan,
feallan to foldan sceatum, ac ic sceolde fæste standan.
Rod wæs ic aræred : ahof ic ricne cyning,
heofona hlaford ; hyldan me ne dorste.
þurhdrifan hi me mid deorcan næglum ; on me syndon þa dolg gesiene,
opene inwidhlemmas ; ne dorste ic hira ænigum sceððan.
Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere ; eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed,
begoten of þæs guman sidan . . . . . .
. . . . . Crist wæs on rode.
Hwæðere þær fuse feorran cwoman
to þam æðelinge ; ic þæt eall beheold.
Sare ic wæs mid (*sorgum*)[1] gedrefed ; hnag ic hwæðre þam secgum to handa,
eaðmod elne mycle. Genamon hie þær ælmihtigne god
ahofon hine of ðam hefian wite ; forleton me þa hilderincas
standan steame bedrifenne ; eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod.
Aledon hie ðær limwœrigne, gestodon him æt his lices heafdum ;
beheoldon hie ðær heofenes dryhten ; and he hine ðær hwile reste,
meðe æfter ðam miclan gewinne.

A translation of these lines is : ' Then the young man, that was God Almighty, stripped himself, strong and steadfast. Bold in the sight of many he mounted the high cross

Kluge, *Ags. Lesebuch*,[4] Halle, 1915, pp. 110-14 ; Wyatt, *A.S. Reader*, Cambridge, 1919, pp. 130-2 (ll. 28-89).

[1] MS. *mid. gedrefed.* Cf. Ruthwell, 16, *so. gum.*

when he would redeem mankind. I trembled when he clasped me, yet I durst not bow to the ground or fall to the lap of earth, for I must needs stand fast. I was raised a Cross: I lifted up the great King, the lord of heaven: I durst not bend. They pierced me with dark nails, and the wounds are visible on me, the open wounds of malice. I durst not injure any of them. They mocked us both together. I was all wet with blood, and streamed on from that man's side. . . . Christ was on the Cross. But eager ones came from afar to that noble one. I saw it all. I was sorely troubled with (sorrow); yet humbly and with zeal I bowed to the hands of these men. Then they took the Almighty God, and lifted him from that heavy torment. Those warriors left me standing, covered with blood. I was all wounded with arrows. They laid down the limb-weary one; they stood at his body's head, and gazed on the lord of heaven. And for a time he rested there, weary after the great struggle.'

Now, if we compare these two texts, other than philologically for the present, we may note some differences in those lines or parts of lines occurring in both. (1) The subject of . . *geredæ* in R. 1. is *god almeḥttiġ*; in V. 39 it is *geong hæleð* with *þæt wæs god ælmihtig* as an expanding phrase. (2) R. 2 has *þa he walde on galgu ġistiga*; V. 40 has *gestah on gealgan heanne.* But it is wrong here to suggest that the 'author' of the poem would not have been guilty of the indecorum of attributing to Christ the desire to mount the Cross in the sight of all men. The word *walde* does bear this meaning, and the difference is a material one of motive, and not merely of expression. (3) R. 3, *f* . . . . . *men*, is represented by V. 41, *on manigra gesyhðe.* (4) R. 7, . (*h*)*ælda iċ ni dorstæ*, is V. 45, *hyldan me ne dorste.* R., that is, omits the object which *hyldan* usually takes, and repeats the subject. (5) R. 8, . *ismæræ*(*d*)*u* . *uñket men ba æt* . *ad* . . is V. 48, *Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere.* (6) R. 9, *iċ* . . . is V. 48, *eall ic wæs.* (7) R. 14, . þþilæ *til anum* is V. 58, *to þam æðelinge.* But

it will not do to infer from the occurrence of the latter phrase in *Genesis* and in *Daniel* that the *Vision* poet is in the line of poetic tradition, and that the Ruthwell writer is not.[1] (8) R. 18, *giwundæd*, is V. 62, *forwundod*. (9) R. 19, (*h*)*inæ*, is V. 63, *ðær*.

It will no doubt be agreed that in spite of these variants, in some of which the sense takes a slightly different turn, the line for line correspondence of the two versions is too close to be classed as a case of mere resemblance or similarity. We may safely speak of the identity of the two passages. At the same time, the few verbal discrepancies are not in themselves of a nature to support any theorizing as to either the superiority or priority of one text or the other. It is to be noted that the Ruthwell lines are obviously incomplete in sense, and imperfect in measure and alliteration. But it is important again not to build too hasty an argument upon this. The general proposition advanced that lack of alliteration, lack of metre, and imperfect sense in an inscription, and their opposites in a poem in manuscript, establish the poem as the original of the two is very doubtful, and in any case cannot usefully be applied here. For, while there can be no objection to explaining the Ruthwell incompleteness by supposing that the sculptor of the runes found himself with a narrow space at his disposal and chose from *a* poem such verses as he thought suitable, and carved them where he had room for them, we must be careful not to pass from this perhaps harmless assumption to the further and different statement that the engraver of the inscription took his verses from *the* poem, if by *the* poem we mean, as we then may, our Vercelli text of the *Vision of the Cross*. For this would be to go well beyond the warrant of the facts if in no other point than that it suppresses the necessary alternative that an earlier

[1] R. 12-14—eager noble ones came from afar to that lonely one; V. 57-58—eager ones came from afar to that noble one. But who are the *fuse*, the eager ones? Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 32, says Joseph and Nicodemus. Wyatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-3, suggests angels.

text than either of the two present ones existed,—a Northumbrian text, of course, or at least an Anglian, from which the sculptor selected parts for his purpose, and which a West Saxon compiler transposed into the Vercelli form. From the existence and circumstances of the two versions we are not entitled to say initially that either of them used the other, still less which of the two preceded the other. What we can say at this stage is : (1) that the two can hardly be other than versions of the same essential poem, or part of a poem ; (2) that one is, in its present epigraphic condition, a fragment and imperfect,[1] but that the other occurs in what is probably a version of the complete poem ; (3) that the fragment is in the Northumbrian dialect, of a date to be determined, if possible, by study, but the text of the longer poem is in late Saxon.

(2) *The Content of the Poem*

It is of some importance to notice, next, that the lines to which the inscription corresponds occur in the second of three fairly well-marked parts of the poem.[2] Of these the first, ll. 1-27, is in the nature of a prologue describing a vision of the Cross at midnight. It appeared as a tree moving in the air. But it was not ' the gallows of any wicked man.' It glittered with gold and jewels, and was gazed on by angels, saints, and men. Yet it changed in colour, red on the right side, and through the gold could be seen to be wet with blood. At the close of this description the Cross itself begins to speak. Obviously this first part is an echo of the vision of Constantine, and similar in its terms to other echoes of the vision in O.E. literature—to those in the *Elene*,[3] in the *Christ*,[4] in an XI

[1] But note that we do not possess the full inscription *as it once was* on the Cross. See notes (p. 207 f.) on the Text of the Runes. We cannot infer anything as to the fragmentariness and imperfection of the original complete inscribed text.

[2] Prose translation in Kennedy, *Poems of Cynewulf*, 1910.

[3] ll. 69-104, ed. Holthausen, Heidelberg, 1905, and Cook, Yale, 1919.

[4] ll. 1081-1102, ed. Cook, Boston, 1900.

homily,[1] and in Ælfric's sermon on the Invention of the Cross.[2] They derive probably indirectly from Lactantius or Rufinus, rather than directly from Eusebius.[3] It has been suggested that the *wædum geweorðod* ('adorned with its vestments') of l. 15 may be a reference to the actual veiling of the Cross on Good Friday. But in general it is the symbolical Cross, the sign of victory, that is described in terms that are familiar in O.E. literature, and draw on the one hand from the well-known vision of Constantine, and, on the other, from the presence in churches of the Altar Cross or the Processional Cross (*Crux stationalis*). In the third part, again, ll. 122-end, which serves as epilogue, the poet is also speaking in person. He finds himself praying at the foot of the Cross, 'alone with a small band,' and resolves to worship it more and better. In ll. 131^{b}-136^{a} he remembers friends who died before him, and in ll. 136^{b}-146^{a} he asks when the Cross will come to lead him home from earth to heaven. These lines are similar in turn of thought and expression to those in which Cynewulf closes the poems that carry his signature. But the student of Cynewulf's epilogues is slow to draw any biographical or personal deductions from this manner of writing. ll. 146^{b}-156 seem almost superfluous, being different in tone, and of poorer quality. They have been held to be an addition by another hand, or a later accretion of some kind. But there is no evidence for this; and even to hold these lines an artistic mistake, as some do, is a merely modern judgment of no value. The general point for criticism to notice is that neither prologue nor epilogue of the *Vision* is at all remarkable, among companion O.E. pieces, for any feature of poetry. With them the Ruthwell lines have nothing to do.

[1] Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E.E.T.S., 1871, pp. 3-17.

[2] Ælfric, *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, 1844-6, II, pp. 303-7.

[3] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, i, 28-31, Migne, *Pat. Gr.*, xx, 944-5 and 948; Lactantius, *Of Manner in wh. the Persecutors Died*, xliv, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, VII, 260-2; Rufinus' version of Eusebius' *Eccl. Hist.*, ix, 9. Cf. Stevens, *The Cross in the Life and Lit. of the A.S.* (Yale Studies, 23) 1904.

The case is quite otherwise with the second or main part of the poem in which the Cross speaks, and tells its history. Of this part again, ll. 75[b]-121 are of lesser interest. They describe —the Cross still speaking itself—the invention, the decoration, the exaltation above other trees, and the bestowal of 'virtue,' or power to heal. In its last words the Cross bids the poet proclaim his vision, and promises salvation to the faithful. The motive here is plainly liturgical, and the passage is matched by many Latin hymns in adoration of the Cross—by the *Ecce lignum Crucis*, the *Crucem tuam adoramus*, the *Dum Fabricator Mundi*, the *Crux benedicta nitet*, the *Vexilla Regis*, and most of all by the *Pange lingua* of Fortunatus, which was admired and imitated by Alcuin. It is therefore in ll. 28-74[a] that the final interest of this poem resides. In them the Cross speaks, and tells how it was felled long ago on the edge of a wood, and stripped from its trunk. Strong men dragged it to a hill, and set it up. It saw the Lord hastening to mount it boldly. It could have laid its foes low, but it had to stand fast. Then follow the lines quoted and translated above. In ll. 73[b]-75[a] it is cut down, and buried in a deep trench. It is enough for the present to say of this part that it is unique in thought and expression among all kindred poems; and that this distinction lies not in the fact that the Cross is endowed with personality, or in the emotional quality of its consciousness, or even in the strange beauty of its language, but simply and historically in this, that it is the boldest adaptation of Christian matter to a northern and barbarian setting that can be found in O.E. literature.

(3) *Authorship of the Poem*

Two theories of authorship have in the past found advocates, and are still occasionally repeated. A few words will state briefly how the case stands with both.

(*a*) The theory of Cædmonian authorship.—As regards

the inscription, this theory was made to rest on the fact that various people, following Stephens, claimed to have read on the two borders of the eagle panel on the North face some such words as *Cadmon mæ fauætho.* The epigraphic facts have been already noted (p. 195). On the sinister border of this panel the runes are illegible, and not a letter can be traced. On the dexter border, see Fig. 18 (p. 246), there is a doubtful but possible bind-rune *mæ* followed by the fairly clear letters, *fauætho.* These letters mean nothing, and the inscription here must be ignored. As regards the poem, no external evidence in the MS. or in the history of the poem suggests authorship ; and there is no internal evidence to argue upon, since we possess practically nothing written by Cædmon with which to compare it. What emerges from Bede's account [1] is that Cædmon came to the Abbey of Streoneshalh some little time after its foundation, when it was already famous and flourishing,[2] but before the death of Abbess Hild ; that he outlived her for some time ; and that after composing a number of scriptural poems, he died of old age.[3] The Abbey was built in 657-59 ; but its flourishing period was not till after the Whitby Synod, 664 ; and Hild died in 680. It is a fair inference therefore that Cædmon's composition ought to be dated 670-90. The one ascertained fragment of his composition, the nine lines known as his *Hymn*, survives in its original Northumbrian dialect in a MS. written rather later than 737, and there are two later continental versions of the same Northumbrian text.[4] It is not absolutely certain that these nine lines represent his original words. The terms in which Bede introduces his Latin version of them at least

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 24.

[2] *Multis doctioribus viris præsentibus.* [3] *Corporea infirmitate.*

[4] The MSS. are *Camb. KK.*, 5, 16 ; *Dijon Bibl. Municip.*, 574 ; and Paris, *Bibl. Nat. Cod. Lat.*, 5237. Cf. Bede, *Opera Historica*, ed. Plummer, 1896, II, p. 251 ff. ; Wuest, *Zfd.A.*, XLVIII, p. 205 ff. ; Zupitza-Schipper, *Übungsbuch*, p. 2 ; and Förster, *Ags. Lesebuch*, 1913, pp. 2-4.

allow an interpretation of them as a re-translation from the Latin prose. Even so, they cannot differ materially from what the original must have been. But, beyond this, nothing else can be proved to represent his authentic composition; and the collection of religious and liturgical poems of various dates and schools and places, differing in source, motif, thought, style, and language—the *Exodus*, *Daniel*, *Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, and the rest of the Junian MS.—are not now generally associated with Cædmon himself.[1] That there was a school of religious poets in Northumbria after Cædmon is clear from Bede's statement.[2] That there was a considerable output of religious lyrical poetry at this date, dependent on ecclesiastical and Latin literature, but retaining many marks of the barbarian way of poetry, is almost certain. The *Vision of the Cross* might have come out of this school, or have been related to it, or might have occurred at any point of time in it after 680. But we cannot speak in any strict sense of Cædmonian authorship, for the reason that nothing exists objectively, to serve for comparison, as a basis of Cædmonian composition.

(*b*) The theory of Cynewulf's authorship.—Our knowledge of Cynewulf is derived from four poems which bear his signature in runic characters—*Juliana*,[3] *Christ II.*, *Elene*, and *The Fates of the Apostles*.[4] We have therefore a canon, and an established basis of composition, for comparison and argument. But our literary application of this knowledge is limited by the fact that the criteria provided by these four poems are by no means uniform, unambiguous, or even consistent. They do not suffice to determine fully either the period or the place of his authorship, still less to limit the range of his activity, or

[1] Sarrazin has recently returned to the view, for which there is much to be said, that *Genesis A* is probably of original Cædmonian authorship. Cf. *Von Kädmon bis Kynewulf*, Berlin, 1913.

[2] *Alii post illum in gente Anglorum religiosa poemata facere tentabant.*

[3] Ed. Strunk, Boston, 1904.

[4] Ed. (*Andreas* and *Fates of Apostles*) Krapp, Boston, 1906.

define the terms of his school. Among a number of alternatives offered therefore criticism cannot choose with anything in the nature of proof. The *Vision* poem for instance shares some features with the four genuine poems of Cynewulf, in particular some forms of phrase with *Elene* and *Christ II*. But less weight will be attached now to such similarities of style in deciding questions of authorship than formerly; and, in point of fact, they are less numerous and less striking than might be supposed. It may be noted too, for what it is worth, that the types of phrase in question are more traceable in the prologue and epilogue than in the middle part of the poem. They do not justify an assumption of common origin for the *Vision* and the undoubted poems of Cynewulf, still less do they establish anything like proof of it. It is doubtful if they are strong enough to provide an inference of knowledge of the one text, or set of texts, on the part of the writer of the other. Joint share in the same general tradition meets the case.[1] But, if this is not enough, there is nothing in the way of supposing that the author of *Elene* knew the *Vision* poem.[2] It is best not to deal in such curiosities of conjecture; and we need not assume knowledge or indebtedness one way or the other. If however the assumption must be made, those who make it must keep in mind the fact that the resemblances on which it has to be based leave it quite open for the *Vision* to be the earlier poem of the two. Any further arguments, biographical or otherwise, based on the alleged 'confessions' or 'conversions' of the Cynewulfian epilogues, are worthless.[3]

[1] The whole stress of criticism on the personal element or authorship of poems of this period is unhistorical, and derives from the modern idea of literary property. Similarity between pieces at this date means 'tradition'; and does not mean identity of authorship, or direct copying.

[2] Sarrazin, *op. cit.*, holds that the poet of *Elene* does once betray his identity with the author of the *Vision*. This argument turns on the fact that in *Elene*, ll. 88-90, the Cross is made to appear to Constantine not as in the original, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, but as it appears *after the Invention*, decked with gold and jewels as in the *Vision*. Cf. the argument on this anachronism, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[3] Cf. Brown, *Englische Studien*, xxxviii, 1907, pp. 196-233.

If therefore the *Vision* belongs to what is loosely called 'Cynewulfian' poetry, we have no means of placing it at any particular point in the sequence of that poetry. We can summarize all that the facts entitle us to by saying (1) that authorship by Cynewulf himself is hardly possible on literary grounds (and is made practically impossible by the linguistic evidence of the inscription); (2) that membership in the group of poems (other than the four signed) which sometimes bears his name is just tenable; but if so, there is evidence again, both literary and linguistic, that the *Vision* is early, if not indeed very early, compared with the main body of this poetry. On this view the *Vision* would not be later than the middle of VIII, and is more probably as early as the beginning of that century. But neither date nor authorship is susceptible of proof by merely literary argument. And we must leave it at that.

(4) *The Metrical Evidence*

It is a pity that in the present state of our knowledge little, if any, light can be thrown upon the authorship of an O.E. poem by a consideration of the metrical evidence. The main features of the O.E. line are admitted and agreed upon by all scholars. So probably are the five fundamental types to which Sievers reduced the varieties of half verses, provided always it is remembered that these represent a convenience of classification for us rather than fine-drawn conditions of artistry for the poets themselves. Further refinements and modifications upon these types, apt as they are to vary with the wit or the pedantry of the classifier, are negligible for critical purposes; and arguments for authorship are not securely based on the mechanical tests evoked by these metrical studies. In the case of the *Vision*, the argument is less likely to turn on such points as the number of unstressed syllables before or after the main stresses, as on the presence in the poem of a number of expanded lines, and on the relation of these to the

normal line. Now, these lengthened lines occur more or less in all O.E. poems, either isolatedly or more commonly in groups. In some poems, such as *Juliana* and *Maldon*, they are not found at all. In *Genesis*, *Daniel*, *Christ*, *Andreas*, and *Guthlac* they are present both singly and in batches.[1] In *Judith*, a poem of 355 lines, there are 63 long lines and 5 long half lines. In the *Vision*, out of 156 lines 34 are lengthened. These two latter poems resemble each other in employing few variations from the ordinary type of lengthened line. Further, they are alike not only in the frequency and the nature of their lengthened lines, but in their use of what may be called long-lengthened lines, in which, in addition to the extra stress in the half line, there are as many as three or four extra unstressed syllables. These crowded and longest forms do not occur in *Beowulf*, in *Genesis*, or in *Exodus*, and there are only a few examples of them in *Christ*. And, speaking generally of the lengthened lines in O.E., it must be admitted that their scarcity, amounting almost to absence in *Beowulf*, and their absence again at the other end of the scale in such a native poem as *Maldon*, makes it difficult to assert that the lengthened line is a primitive feature of O.E. poetry. It looks as though it was a *tendency* of this poetry to develop the long lines, and a *tendency* of the long lines to become longer. But this cannot be accepted as a full or final statement. It depends, for one thing, upon assigning a late date to *Judith*; and, though this is generally done, it is by no means beyond debate or criticism. And it rests, in addition, on the dangerous habit of generalizing from the evidence of a single text, and that text, as it happens, an unusual type of poem. And, in view of the facts that the lengthened lines do occur sporadically throughout all the poetry, that their origin is uncertain, and that it is difficult, indeed impossible, for us to understand

[1] Cf. Sievers, *Der ags. Schwellvers*, in Paul und Braume, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Lit.*, XII, 1890; Kaluza, *Die Schwellvers in der ae. Dichtung*, *Eng. Studien*, XXI, 1895.

or explain their employment, it is unsafe, to say the least, to cite this technique of O.E. verse as a criterion of date or authorship. In the *Vision* 7 lengthened lines occur in the prologue (8-10, 20-23); only one in the epilogue (133); and one (75) in the liturgical lines describing the burial and discovery and adoration of the Cross. The remaining 25 (30-34, 39-43, 46-49, 59-69) are in the central portion of the poem in which the Cross itself is speaking. We can hardly dismiss this as an insignificant distribution when we remember that it is practically only in the prologue and epilogue and the liturgical lines that we find the echoes of Cynewulfian phrase and usage, and that the lengthened line is not on the whole a distinctive, and certainly not *the* distinctive, feature of the technique of the genuine poem of Cynewulf. On the other hand, in the Ruthwell text only 5 of the lines (5, 6-7, 11, 12-13, 14-15) correspond to short lines in Vercelli (44, 45, 56, 57, 58). The other nine appear to be lengthened lines corresponding to lengthened lines in Vercelli. Other early fragments of Northumbrian verse, Cædmon's *Hymn*, Bede's *Death-Song*, and the *Leiden Riddle* are in the normal verse. But the *Charms*, probably the oldest verse of all, imply its use. If we cannot see therefore in the metre and technique of ll. 28-75[a] of the *Vision*, a sure sign of age, we cannot ignore a certain characteristic, which *suggests*, if it does not actually constitute, a difference from the rest of the poem. And there are other reasons for believing that this difference tells appreciably in the directness of earliness and age.

(5) *The Poem and the O.E. Riddles*

One of these reasons concerns the relation which this part of the poem bears to the *Exeter Riddles*.[1] A number of

[1] Cf. Tupper, *Riddles of Exeter Book*, Boston, 1910; Wyatt, *O.E. Riddles*, 1912; Wood, *A.S. Riddles*, *Aberystwyth Studies*, 1912; Trautmann, *Die ae. Rätsel*, Heidelberg, 1915.

these [1] are in the form *Ic seah* (*I saw* . . . . a wondrous sight), with which we may compare the *Vision*, ll. 4-23; while in another group [2] the subject of the enigma is quickened into life, made to speak in the first person, and recounts its life history. It has been suggested by Sarrazin that the *Vision* is essentially a poem *De Cruce* composed of these two riddle types.[3] And it would seem further that it is not only related generally, in point of poetic personification of an inanimate object, to this form of poetry, but has a certain affinity in structure and spirit to particular riddles written in this style. Riddle 30 for instance is solved by 'The Cross,' or rather by 'The Tree or Cross.'[4] Lines 1 to 4 describe the life of a tree in the forest, and lines 5-9 are most reasonably interpreted as referring to the subsequent life of the Tree as a Cross. In the same spirit 'The Battering Ram' in Riddle 53 recounts in a few lines its life story.[5] It remembers its happy life in the forest on the hillside before it suffered the strokes of the axe. Then in its new form it glories in its power in battle, and tells how it prepares a way for warriors. The opening lines of this riddle may be compared with lines 28-30 of the *Vision*. Again, in Riddle 72, 'The Spear' speaks. This is a riddle of thirty lines, of which fifteen are very imperfect and impossible to reconstruct. But the opening lines are plain, and in them 'The Spear' or 'The Spear-shaft' tells in the same style of a transposed life.[6] It flourished as a tree (the ash), then fell into cruel hands. It was smoothed and polished, and made into a weapon, and lives to boast of its power of speedy slaughter. To take one more example, the solution of

[1] Cf. 29, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38, 42, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 59, 68, 86—numbering as in Wyatt.

[2] Cf. 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 12, 14, 26, 40, 63, 71, 72, 76, 82.

[3] Cf. *Von Kädmon bis Kynewulf*, 1913, p. 116.

[4] Tupper, *cross*; Wyatt, *no solution*; Trautmann, *Baum-Kreuz*; Wood, *Beam*. Cf. Blackburn, *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, III, 1900.

[5] Tu., Wy., Tr., Wo., *battering ram*.

[6] Tu., Wy., *spear* or *lance*; Tr., *der Mauerbrecher*; Wo., *spear-shaft*.

Riddle 55 is almost certainly 'The Cross,'[1] and the lines describe the four woods of which the Cross was made, and its life among men in the hall.

Now, there are several points suggested by these riddles which a further study of the whole O.E. and Anglo-Latin Riddle literature, of which they are examples, will enforce. The first is the fact that in riddles generally a familiar and characteristic device of the poet is that of endowing the object with life, and making it speak, and sometimes speak with passion, as the Cross is made to speak in the *Vision*. The second is that in a certain number of riddles, which poetically are among the most vivid in the whole collection, the object so endowed and speaking is a tree or is something made from the wood of a tree. The third point is that, as in the *Vision* again, the tree in speaking recalls its former life, its freedom and freshness in the forest, its humiliation at the hands of its enemy—man, the new shape given to it, and the new use to which it was put by men, and its pride in its new power and function. It was once a living thing, it fell before a 'murderer's will,' it was raised again to honour and usefulness: this may be called the common formula of the tree-speaking riddles. The fourth significant thing is that the riddles that employ this formula are either those the tone of which suggests that they are among the older pieces of O.E., or are those that show the queer, sharp blend of the elements of Heathendom and Christendom that is characteristic of the first O.E. Christian poetry. The great period of riddle writing in England, whether in Latin or the vernacular, was 650-800; and the English collection obviously belongs to VIII, and preferably to the first half of the century. It may be taken for granted that it is not by Cynewulf himself, and not in any sense, however loose, Cynewulfian in origin or quality.[2]

[1] Tu., *cross*; Wy., *scabbard*; Tr., *die Harfe*; Wo., *scabbard*.

[2] This is the whole trend of both Riddle and Cynewulf scholarship. An exception is Tupper, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Dec. 1910.

Theoretically each riddle should be dated in and for itself; but it may be taken that they were written in the main in the first thirty or forty years of VIII. We need not suppose that they were all written at one time or by one poet. Probably in the middle or at the end of X the collector of the Exeter MS. was drawing upon more than one source, and from several smaller and earlier collections of riddles, and the Exeter *corpus* may be looked on as miscellaneous in origin and, within certain limits, in date. But that the *Vision* should combine in its structure two of the main riddle types, and that it should offer as well definite affinities with the *Tree* group of riddles, are at any rate literary factors to be remembered later, when it is found that linguistically the closest parallel to the Ruthwell text is the Northumbrian version of the *Leiden Riddle* [1]—one of the few riddles that can be almost definitely dated.

(6) *Summary of the Literary Evidence*

It does not appear that there are any other criteria of usage or style that throw light on the question of the authorship or origin of the poem. The application of minute tests of grammar or syntax, such as that of the presence or absence of the definite article before a weak adj.+subst., can hardly be conclusive, given the nature of the transmission of O.E. texts; and it is doubtful if they can be applied at all, satisfactorily, to an admittedly exceptional text such as the *Vision*.[2] Nor is there any other literary or textual parallel that can be called into use. The O.E. lines on the Reliquary of Brussels Cathedral,[3] said to contain frag-

[1] See later (p. 244, n. 3).

[2] Cf. Barnouw, *Textcritische Untersuchungen*, Leiden, 1902; Sarrazin, *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVIII, 1907, p. 145; Richter, *Chronologische Studien zur ags. Lit.*, Halle, 1910, p. 93.

[3] Cf. Logeman, *L'Inscription Anglo-Saxonne du Reliquaire de la Vraie Croix*, Ghent and Leipzig, 1891; and Cook, *Date of O.E. Inscription on Brussels Cross*, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 1915, pp. 157-61.

ments of the True Cross, are hardly to the point. They read :—

Rod is min nama : geo ic ricne cyning bær byfigynde, blode bestemed.

'Rood is my name : once I bore the great King, trembling and wet with blood.'

The inference is that it was once regarded as a piece of the True Cross. The lines may, or may not, have been taken from the O.E. poem ; and they may, or may not, confirm the presumption that the Ruthwell inscription was also taken from the poem. But even if they were, they come from a part of the poem which might well have existed earlier than the first complete Anglian text of the whole poem.

The literary evidence therefore may be summed up in the general terms of a broad and plain case. By the end of VII or beginning of VIII the various facts in the history of Cross worship and most of the forms of that worship and of Cross literature were known in England. A churchman of that date was familiar with the Vision of Constantine, the Discovery of the Cross by St Helena, the Dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Restoration of the Cross to Jerusalem by Heraclius, the spread of the Adoration of the Cross from Constantinople to Rome, and from Rome to the Western Church, the Latin Hymns of the Church, the observation of both the festivals of the Cross, the Exaltation (May 3) and the Invention (Sept. 14), and finally with the exposition by Pope Sergius I. of a Fragment of the Cross for veneration in Rome.[1] Throughout VIII and IX the adoration of the Cross was at its height in Anglo-Saxon England ; but the various forms of Cross worship, and of its liturgy and

[1] Brandl holds that the discovery of this fragment in the Pontificate of Sergius was the actual occasion of the *Vision* poem, which was designed, in this view, to interpret the new religious festival, and draw attention to the fact that, as Bede records, Abbot Ceolfrith of Wearmouth was in Rome at the time. Cf. *Sitz. Ber. der kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Berlin, July 1905, and

literature, were known at any rate from the end of VII. In the *Vision of the Cross* there is not a conception with which we need suppose a churchman at the end of that century to have been unfamiliar; and every factor in the liturgical setting of the poem allows this early date. On the other hand, there are two sets of facts which make it unlikely that the poem was written much later than this. The first is that it knows practically nothing of any of the later Cross legends of which the literature of the early Middle Ages proper is full. It does not know of the growth of the tree planted in Jerusalem of which the Cross was made; it does not know of the four woods of the Cross, or think of it as made of more than one kind; and it naturally does not know of the crucifix, but only of the Cross. It is safe to say that at any time from the end of IX a Cross poem in which one or other of these legends did not enter would be remarkable. And generally speaking the 'earliness' of the *Vision* is sufficiently established by the fact that it knows nothing of the theological mysticism of later Cross literature, and in point of fact is neither a theological nor a mystical poem, but a 'heroic' poem on a Christian subject. The second group of facts is that the evidences of barbarian thought and expression, which are striking throughout the second part of the poem, are such as imply, and indeed allow, no great break, of time or tradition, from the heroic poetry of the Germanic North. Treatment of Christian themes in the spirit and manner of secular heroic poetry is the familiar fact of all O.E. religious verse. It is at its height as habit in *Andreas* and *Elene*; but at least in *Andreas* it is more a case of specific knowledge of *Beowulf* than of unconscious memory of the traditions of the race. The occurrence

translation of the paper in *Scottish Hist. Review*, 1912, p. 139. The two accounts of the establishment of the festival will be found in *Liber Pontificalis*, Pars Prior, ed. Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Berlin, 1898, p. 213, or ed. Duchesne, Paris, 1886-92, I, 374; and in Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, *Sexta ætas* (A.D. 701), *Opera*, ed. Giles, 1843, VI, p. 328.

of poetic archaisms in the *Vision* is not surprising, but their presence in that kind of poem, otherwise so closely in touch with both the Church and Latinity, is; and still more surprising is their early and primitive nature. Christ is not a sacrifice or a sufferer in this poem, but a young hero performing a feat of power and endurance. It is the Cross or tree whose history and sorrows count. Strong enemies (*strange feondas*) seized it: there were many of them (*feondas genoge*): it was prevented from fighting them: it was made to carry their outlaws (*wergas*): it trembled when the young hero clasped it (*ymbclypte*):[1] warriors (*hilderincas*) took their chief from the Cross, and gathered round the body: in the evening they sang the death song (*sorhleoð*)[2] over it. This last reference to the death wail is one of the oldest things in barbarian poetry, so old that, as Brandl says, 'nowhere save in *Beowulf* is the custom mentioned. Cynewulf and his contemporaries have long forgotten it.' And of the whole tone of these references we may say that they certainly accord best, if not only, with an assumption of early date. It is possible that, since they occur mainly in the second part of the poem, this part should be referred to an earlier date than the other two. The others are palpably more in the manner of the Cynwulfian poetry: the second retains appreciably more of the formulae of the heroic verse. If this cannot be proved, it is so likely that it must at any rate be allowed for.

In the balance of probabilities then the lines corresponding with the Ruthwell inscription occur in a poem preserved in late West Saxon in a MS. of late X which may in its original Northumbrian or Anglian form have been at least as old as 700, and need not on any count have been later than 750.

[1] Possibly, as Sweet suggested, a confusion between crucifixion and hanging.

[2] It is scarcely possible that this is merely a poetic term for 'lamentation,' and not an archaic feature of the original A.S. burial rite, and therefore an evidence of great antiquity. Cf. Schücking, *Das ags. Totenklagelied*, *Eng. Stud.*, xxxix, 1908.

When therefore the argument of 'selection from a poem for purposes of inscription' is applied to the Ruthwell text, it *may* result in establishing a claim for the poem as the earlier of the two; but it *cannot*, by establishing that, prove or even suggest absolute lateness for the inscription. The latter might be taken from the poem and still be as early as 700; and to prove the Ruthwell inscription later than the *Vision of the Cross* is, so far as regards dating Ruthwell, to prove nothing at all. From which it follows that while all the literary evidence concerned *allows* an early date, it does nothing to determine it; and the student of the inscription must conduct his linguistic case independently of any opinion as to the date or authorship of the poem.

VI. The Linguistic Evidence

When we turn to the language of the inscription we must remember that three clear categories of words can be used in evidence: (A) Words of which every letter has been deciphered and certified on the stone; (B) Words of which a letter or more may be missing, and yet the whole word may be given by the context (epigraphic and literary), or by the Vercelli text, in such a way that the letters supplied to complete it have no effect on the phonological evidence of the rest of the word; and (C) Complete syllables that give their grammatical or phonological evidence independently, and irrespective of what the exact form of the rest of the word may have been.

The examples are:—

A. *ġeredæ, hinæ, god, almeḥttiġ, þa, he, walde, on, galgu, ġistiga men, iċ, riiċnæ, kyniñċ, hêâfunæs, ni, dorstæ, uñket, ba, blodæ, Crist, wæs, rodi, hweþræ, þer, fêârran, cwomu, til, anum, þæt, al, miþ, ġiwundæd, aleġdun, hiæ, limwæriġnæ, him.*

B. and C. *(m)o(d)iġ, h(l)afard, (h)ælda, (b)ismæræ(d)u, (b)is t(e)mi(d), bi . . . ., fus(æ), . þþilæ, ġi(d)ræ(fi)d, so(r)gum, stre(l)um, gistoddu(n), . i . æs, (h)inæ.*

(1) Now in these words the first feature to be noted, as supplying the first criterion to be applied, is the presence of *æ* in unaccented syllables where normal O.E. texts almost always write *e*. In Ruthwell this *æ* appears in fifteen words: *ġeredæ*, *hinæ*, *riicnæ*, *hêâfunæs*, *dorstæ*, *blodæ*, *hweþræ*, *ġiwundæd*, *hiæ*, *limwœriġnæ*, (*b*)*ismæræ*(*d*)*u*, *fus*(*æ*), . þþ*ilæ*, . *i* . *æs*, (*h*)*inæ*. In each of these cases where the corresponding word or form appears in Vercelli the unstressed *e* is written.[1] On the other hand, of this unstressed *e* there is only one certain example in Ruthwell, *walde*. It is agreed that in the whole range of O.E. this *æ* is archaic, and the change to the normal *e* is generally referred to the early VIII, though it can be found in a few cases as early as the end of VII. But it is in the nature of such changes that they do not operate uniquely at a given point of time, and variety of usage is to be expected, and will be found, on either side of the dividing line. No one contends that *e* cannot be found in an early text, or that *æ*'s do not linger on in later texts. In a charter of 806 or 810 we have this archaic *æ* ending in two words, *geuuorðiae* and *gulliae*.[2] Just as in the Moore MS. of Cædmon's *Hymn* (737) we have *hrofe*, and in the St Gall MS. of Bede's *Death Song* (IX continental, but an accurate copy of theNorthumbrian original) we have *fore*, *there*,[3] and *daege*. Sporadic occurrences of *e* early and of *æ* later do not interfere with the broad fact that *æ* is archaic and *e* is normal in O.E. To suggest lateness therefore in Ruthwell on the ground either of the occurrence of *walde* in the inscription, or of isolated examples of *æ* in even IX or X texts, is to confuse the argument. The point is not that *e* cannot occur in genuine early texts, but that wherever you get a uniform or predominant retention

[1] Except in the case of *ġiwundæd*, for which Vercelli has *forwundod*.

[2] Cf. Harmer, *Eng. Hist. Documents*, 1912, pp. 1, 70, and 129. The Charter is however Kentish, which considerably modifies its evidence.

[3] St Gall MS., *thē*; of which the expansion may be *them*. Cf. Förster, *Ae. Lesebuch*, 1913, p. 8, n. 1.

of *æ*'s, you have a strong indication of age. Both occur in Ruthwell, as both occur in Cædmon's *Hymn*. But in both these texts *æ*'s predominate—*in Ruthwell in the proportion of* 15 : 1 *in a text of* 44 *words*. This is positive evidence of age not easily to be upset.

(2) A second and similar feature of the inscription is its use of *i* for the normal *e* in unaccented syllables. This *i* occurs in 10 words—in *ġistiga*, *ni*, (*b*)*ismæræ*(*d*)*u*, (*b*)*ist*(*e*)*mi*(*d*), *bi . . . .*, *rodi*, *bi . . . .*, (*ġi*(*d*)*ræ*(*fi*)*d*, *ġiwundæd*, *ġistoddu*(*n*). Of *e* there are only two possible examples, neither of them unexceptional, . . *ġeredæ* and *uñket*. This change from *i* to *e* is also a weakening from an archaic to a normal form, and was dated by Sievers about 750. It can be traced however a good deal earlier, and must have begun at any rate by the end of VII. Some care too must be taken not to generalize too hastily or rigidly on rather unequal evidence. *E* for *i* is certainly as old as 692, for it appears twice unstressed in an East-Saxon charter of that date. In Mercian charters of 736 and 742 it occurs, and in a Kentish charter of 740. On the other hand, a Mercian grant of 769 has the unstressed, and in the Northumbrian genealogies of 811-814 both *e* and *i* are written in unstressed syllables.[1] In the *Leiden Riddle* (continental MS. of IX, but presuming older Northumbrian) there is a preponderance of *i*'s with a few *e* forms in the proportion of 8 : 3, and there are 2 examples of *i* in Bede's *Song* and 9 in Cædmon's *Hymn*. The entries on pages 88 and 208 of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* contain *gi*'s for *ge*'s, and the *gi* form appears frequently in the last chapter of St John. The entries and the gloss to the Gospel belong to the latter half of X, but there is reason for believing the glossater was working from an older copy.[2] Obviously, as in the case of *æ* and *e* so with *i* and *e* it is not a question of sporadic occurrence of one or the other, late or early, but of the predominance of the archaic

[1] Cf. Sweet, *O.E. Texts*, pp. 167, 426, 428.

[2] Cf. *Anglia, Beiblatt*, XII, 1901, p. 142, and *Anglia*, XXIV, 1901, p. 1.

or the normal in texts which we know otherwise to be early or late. *E* is found as early as 692 : *i* undoubtedly persists till late, and, as it happens, was apparently written later in Northumbrian, or in Anglian, than in the other dialects, for in the *Liber Vitae* of the beginning of IX it still predominates. What is clear is that on the whole unstressed *i* prevails until about 740, after which date unstressed *e* predominates. Now, Ruthwell shows a significant predominance of archaic *i*'s, 10 : 2 *in a text of* 44 *words*, a feature that it shares therefore with only the earliest, or copies of the earliest texts. And this evidence is not disposed of by assuming that 'when a man was penning an inscription, monumental or otherwise, he was likely to archaize or to manifest peculiarities due to a high-strung condition.'

(3) A third feature of the text of the inscription is its use of *f*, medially, where some have expected to find the archaic and original *b*. Medial *f* occurs in *hêafunæs*, *h(l)afard*, *ġi(d)ræ(fi)d*. There is no example of final *f*. It is not easy to apply the evidence for this usage in the form of a criterion for date. In normal spelling final *b* is only irregularly found after the middle of IX. But it is twice in the *Liber Vitae* (IX) in *Cuobualch* and *Leobhelm*, and a Kentish charter of c. 831 has *ob ðem lande*, and one of 832 has *ob minem erfelande*. This latter charter has also medial *b* in *hiabentue* and *Luba* ; [1] and the medial *b* may have persisted later than the final. On the other hand, *f* is found quite early. Cædmon's *Hymn* has both *hefaen* and *heben*, and in the same MS. of Bede *f* occurs in the majority of cases, and it can be found in a Kentish charter as early as 679. Also there is only one example of either medial or final *b* in the *Leiden Riddle* (*ob* repeated twice) as against many *f*'s. If it were possible to generalize from such peculiarities, and from so uneven a usage, and to apply the generalization with any conviction of its worth as a test, we could say that the regular use of medial *f* for *b* in

[1] Cf. Harmer, *Eng. Hist. Doc.*, pp. 7, 8, 9, 129.

Ruthwell suggests a date not earlier than the beginning of VIII, or possibly the end of VII. But it rather seems to be one of those points in O.E. phonology on which date cannot fairly be made to hinge at all.

(4) A fourth feature is the frequent loss of final *n*. This *n* is lost in the infinitive in Ruthwell in *ġistiga* and .(*h*)*ælda*. In our early Northumbrian texts there are only a very few instances of the infinitive, such as the *hergan* of Cædmon's *Hymn*,[1] and the *cnyssa* and *haatan* of the *Leiden Riddle*. In late Northumbrian, that is after c. 950, the loss of *n* is frequent, but we obviously cannot make a comparison. In the Preterite Plurals of verbs Ruthwell preserves the *n* twice in *aleġdun* and *ġistoddu*(*n*), and drops it twice in *cwomu* and (*h*)*ismæræ*(*d*)*u*. Loss of *n* after *u* occurs in certain positions in early Northumbrian; whereas in late Northumbrian *n* is almost regularly found in the Preterites of verbs, and by far the greater number of such Preterites certainly end in *-un* or *-on*. There is one other *n*-less form in Ruthwell, *galgu*. Whatever its explanation, it is paralleled by *eorthu* in the *Leiden Riddle* and the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and by *flodu* and *sefu* on the Franks Casket,[2] though not, as often stated, by a form *foldu* (properly *foldun*[3]) in *Cædmon's Hymn!* It is to be noted that this dropping of *n* is not distinctly Northumbrian, nor by itself a distinctive proof of age. For there are numerous examples of it in the Hatton MS. of the *Cura Pastoralis*. But it is certainly not, as has been contended, an indication of lateness. All that can be said is, that Ruthwell drops it five times, and retains it thrice,—which is inconclusive.

(5) A note may be added on the following forms in the inscription :—(a) *dorstæ*. This is the Preterite of a verb

[1] In the Moore MS., but *herga* in the other two.

[2] Cf. Napier, *The Franks Casket*, p. 379 and note, and p. 380 in Furnivall, *English Miscellany*, 1901.

[3] Förster, *Ae. Lesebuch*, 4, n. 9.

in the Third Ablaut Class of Preterite Presents, *dear* (Gothic *ga-daurs*), Pret. *dorste* (Gothic *ga-daursta*). As the Gothic forms, and the Old High German *gitorsta*, and the Old Saxon *gitorsta*, and the Frisian *thorste*, all show, the original vowel in the stems is *o*. The Lindisfarne form *gedarste* (Mark 12. 34), *gidarste* (John 21. 12) is by analogy from the present, and presumably is later Northumbrian. If *dorstæ* therefore is to be argued from, we are entitled to assume that the text in which it occurs is at any rate older than that of Lindisfarne, by the time of which the *a* form was used. There is no difficulty in taking *dorstæ* therefore, in its stem as in its unstressed vowel, as early. (b) *kyniñc*. In certain cases, where *g* became palatal, or as a result of vowel syncope, *ng* became *nc*. But the combination appears variously in texts as *ncg* and *ngc*.[1] Of the latter there are two examples, *Duningcland* in a Mercian charter of 788, and *Theodningc* in a Mercian charter of 779. It is to be remembered however that in the inscription a single rune represents the nasal stop consonant, often written *ng*; and no argument for date turns on it. (c) *hêâfunæs*. It has been suggested that this *un* is a later form than the *hefaen* and the *heben* of Cædmon's *Hymn*; but while *æn* and *en* may represent the older forms, the confusion in such endings goes back to VII; and in view of the occurrence of *heofones* and *heofone*, as well as of *heofenas*, *heofenum*, it is possible that *hêâfunæs* represents the original alternative which the forms in Cædmon's *Hymn* seem to indicate. (*d*) . þþilæ. The history of this word has been summarized in a recent article,[2] in which it is made clear that its earliest recorded form was *æþil*, that from about 740 onwards this *i* rapidly changed to *e*, that about the same time the *æ* of the first syllable changed in Northumbrian to *e*, and that the joint later development of these two changes is the Northumbrian *eþel* . þþilæ;

[1] Cf. Sievers, *O.E. Grammar* (Cook), § 215; and cf. Bülbring, *op. cit.*, § 566.

[2] Cf. M. D. Forbes and Bruce Dickins, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Jan. 1915; and cf. Luick, *op. cit.*, § 303, Anm. 3.

therefore as far as the word can be read, and without prejudice to its first letter, there is strong evidence 'in favour of a date not later than about 750 for the inscription on the Ruthwell Cross.' (e) *uñket.* Several arguments have been advanced in favour of the lateness and even against the genuineness of this word.[1] (1) It has been read and transliterated as *ungget*, and then described as unfamiliar, with the suggestion that the carver probably blundered. But the second rune in the word is that for the nasal before *g* or *c* (*k*), and is the same as that employed in *kyniñc*; and it is followed by the rune, transliterated here, and also in *kyniñc* by *k*, as it should be; that is to say, by the mid-form which signifies some degree of fronting, but not full palatalization. Epigraphically therefore it is correct and normal in regard to both the runes in question. (2) It has been said that the only other occurrence of the word is in a text with late spellings. This is the form *uncet* in Cockayne's *Shrine*, 42, 27. But the occurrence of *incit* twice in *Genesis A*, 2732 and 2880, makes it probable that there were two parallel forms, *uncit* and *incit.* (3) It has been advanced that the *et* is late and due to lack of stress. But *e* and *i* vary so much in such cases that, as has been shown already, an isolated case of one or other proves nothing. And on all three counts there is not only no proof that *uñket* is a late form, but none that it is not even an earlier form than the *incit* of *Genesis A*.[2]

Finally, in summarizing the linguistic evidence, and in drawing conclusions from it, two considerations should be kept in mind. On the one hand, in dealing with such a text as the Ruthwell inscription, the question to ask is *not*, 'Can some of its archaic forms be found sporadically in texts of the ninth and tenth centuries?'—for this proves hardly anything about Ruthwell itself, but, 'Can such a *uniform* employment

[1] Cf. Cook, *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, Yale, 1912.

[2] A full analysis of this form by Björkman will be found in *Eng. Studien*, LI, 1917, pp. 76-8; cf. also Viëtor in *Anglia, Beiblatt*, Jan. 1915, pp. 4-5.

of the oldest forms of the language be matched in any but the oldest documents, and is it likely that such a number of old forms could occur in the narrow compass of fifteen lines, and within them, in *unbroken sequences of words*, and that text not be itself among the oldest ? ' On the other hand, among such documents those that offer the best parallel, as being not only in the same dialect but also literary and poetical texts, are the Northumbrian versions of Cædmon's *Hymn*,[1] of Bede's *Death Song*,[2] and of the *Leiden Riddle*.[3] If the upper limit of date is not determined, or even determinable, by the use of such evidence, perhaps the lower limit is.

[1] Cf. above, p. 225, n. 4.

[2] Cf. Brotanek, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur ae. Lit. und Kirchengeschichte*, Halle, 1913, pp. 150-94.

[3] Cf. Schlutter, *Anglia*, xxxii, 1909, pp.384-8, and xxxiii, 1910, pp. 457-66.

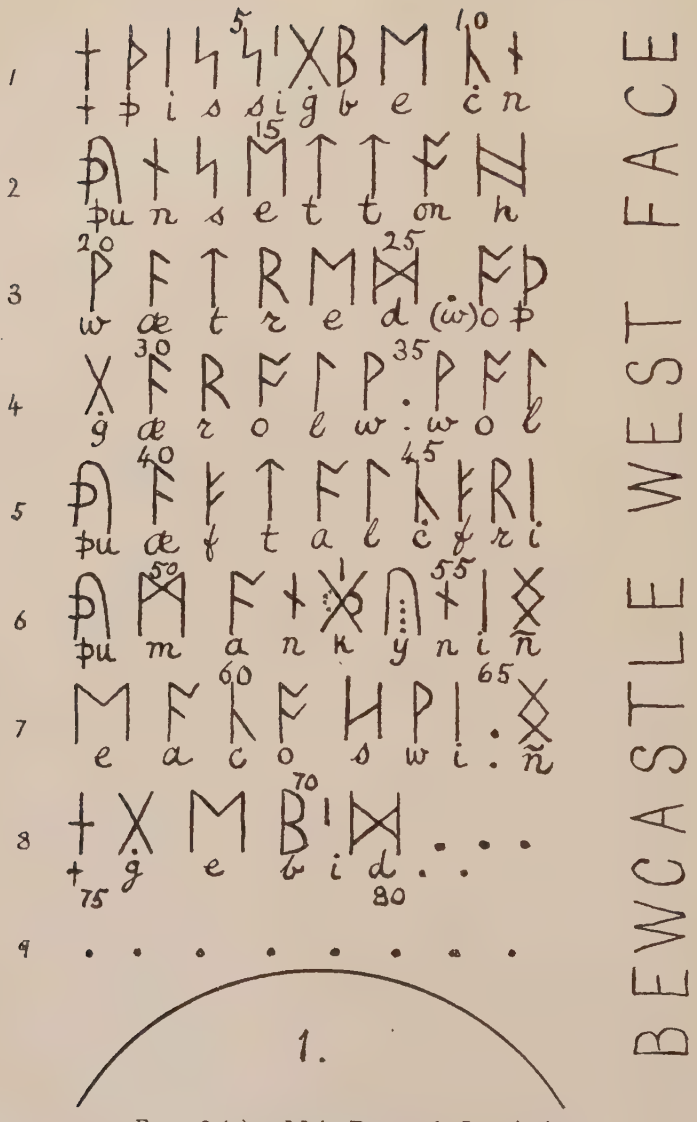


Fig. 18 (1).—Main Bewcastle Inscription.

TRANSLATION AND EXPLANATION

† [*The commemorative formula on Old English monumental stones, which are almost all Christian, generally begins with a cross.*] þis siġbeċn þun, THIS SLENDER SIGN OF VICTORY (VICTORY BEACON) [*the position of the adjective after its noun, and the form* þun *for the O.E.* þynne=*thin, are unusual*] setton, SET UP [*preterite plural of verb* settan *to set up*] Hwætred, HWÆTRED [*this is a proper name, and is not uncommon, occurring, e.g., five times in the Durham Liber Vitae*] (W)othgær, WOTHGÆR [*again a proper name though not otherwise known*] Olw . wolþu [*this has generally been assumed to be a proper name, but it is not otherwise known, and some of the characters are uncertain. It may have been meant for Wolfwolþu, and it may conceal two names. From the composition of the word and its place in the formula, it can hardly be other than a proper name or proper names*] æft, TO [*our 'after.' The word is found in general use in memorial inscriptions with the meaning 'in memory of,' and in this use it is always followed by a proper name*] Alcfriþum, ALCFRITH [*these eight characters represent the oblique case of the proper name of the Northumbrian under-king, the husband of Cyniburga whose name can be read with certainty on another part of the cross. The letters cannot be held to express or conceal any other word*] an Kyniñ, A KING ['an' *is the A.S. indefinite article*] eac Oswi(u)ñ, AND SON OF OSWY [*the termination of the second word is the A.S. patronymic* 'ing,' '*descended from*' *or* '*belonging to*,' eac='also,' 'eke'] † ġebid . . ., PRAY FOR —— [*this is the beginning of a common formula concluding A.S. memorial inscriptions, asking for a prayer for the soul of the person commemorated*].

[*The reader will note that with the exception of 'siġ' (the German 'Sieg') all the Anglo-Saxon words are, in modified forms, in use in the English vocabulary of to-day.*]

CHAPTER IX

THE RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS, CONTINUED: (*b*) AT BEWCASTLE

I. THE DECIPHERING OF THE RUNES; II. THE TEXT OF THE RUNES; III. THE TRANSLITERATION OF THE RUNES; IV. THE TRANSLITERATED TEXT; V. THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

THE GENERAL principles affecting the interpretation of the words and sentences that occur in runic characters on the Bewcastle cross shaft are, in the nature of the case, the same as those upon which criticism of the Ruthwell inscription has been held in the preceding chapter to depend. And, as in the Ruthwell case, the validity of any analysis of the linguistic material provided that may hope to arrive at satisfactory data for the determination of period and provenance will be found to rest again on the application to the runes themselves of uniform and consistent methods both of deciphering and of transliteration. The treatment here adopted in the preparation of the runic and the transliterated texts has already been described (p. 205 f.) and is applied without change. It will not be necessary therefore, before passing to the textual matter itself, to do more than notice some points, in respect of form, occurrence, nature, distribution and legibility, in which the Bewcastle runes differ from those on Ruthwell, and possess characteristics, if indeed they do not present difficulties, of their own.

I. (1) In the first place, a few of the runes employed on both crosses differ, whether accidentally or not, in point of shape and execution. For instance, the sloping lateral of the

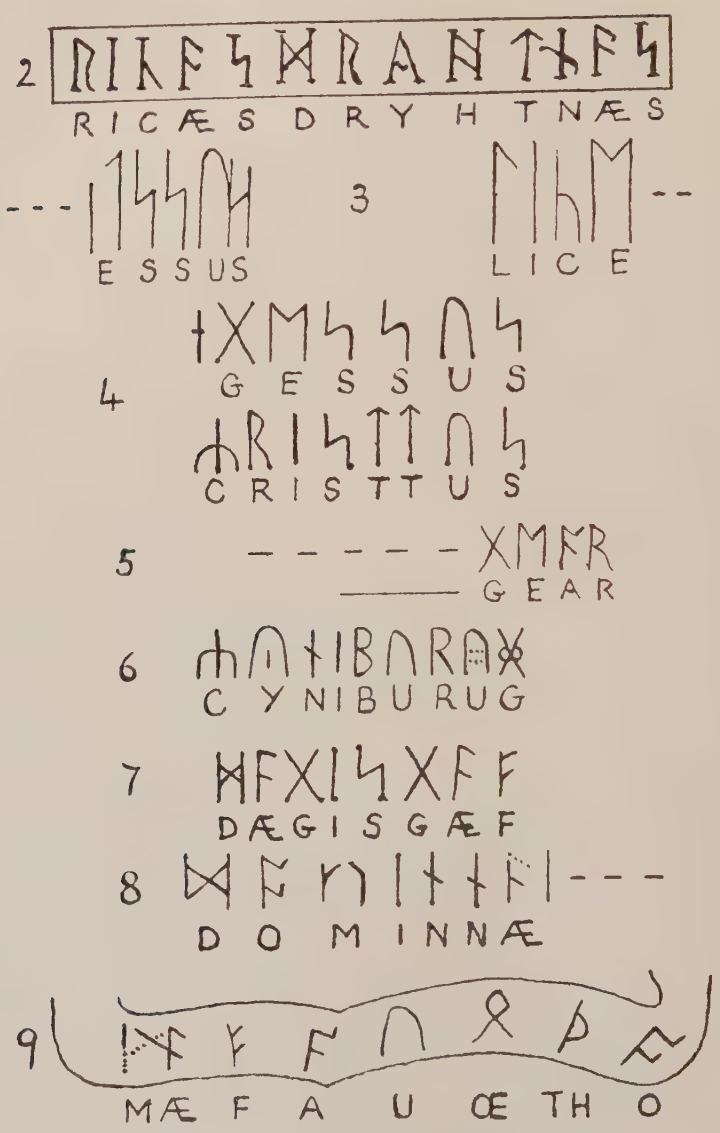


Fig. 18 (2).—The Smaller Runic Inscriptions.

2 (p. 119), Bewcastle, runes on lost epistyle. 3 (p. 127), Bewcastle, top spaces N. and S. 4 (p. 128), Bewcastle, W. 5 (p. 197), Bewcastle, transom, S. 6 (p. 201), Bewcastle, transom, N. 7 (p. 194), Ruthwell E. 8 (p. 195), Ruthwell, Visitation, S. 9 (p. 195), Ruthwell, head, N. (For the main Ruthwell inscription see Fig. 17 (p. 204).)

ċ rune on Ruthwell is generally rounded or curved; examples may be found on the dexter margin of the east face in *iċ riiċnæ* and *kyniñċ*, and in the two *iċ*'s, on the sinister margin of the west face, Fig. 17. On Bewcastle the three clear cases of this rune show a straight sharp sloping lateral; they are the runes 10, 45, and 60 in the main panel on the west face, Fig. 18, 1. In Cotton's note, also, of the runes on the epistyle of the cross the *ċ* rune in *riċæs* is in this straight slanting form (Fig. 18, 2). On the other hand in the *liċe*. on the top space of the south side the side stroke is fully curved as on Ruthwell, Fig. 18, 3. Of the other *c* rune, the 'pitch-fork' form, both side strokes in the Ruthwell examples are curved;[1] and in this curved form it appears on Bewcastle in the *Cristtus* of the west face, Fig. 18, 4. In the *c* of *Cyniburug*, on the other hand, on the south face, the shoulders of the 'pitch-fork' are markedly square and broad, see Pl. XXVIII, and are sharply cut.[2] The appearance of these two forms of the same rune on Bewcastle may be due to a change of craftsman; more probably the difference is accidental and unintentional. In either case it is immaterial, and has no significance for philology. A third case of formal variation occurs in the *s* rune. In rune 62 on the main panel of the west face of Bewcastle, in *oswi*. *ñ*, the verticals are both prolonged to the full height of the letter, Fig. 18, 1. This would appear to be the form used in the Bewcastle bind-rune *us* in the . *essus* on the top space of the north side, Fig. 18, 3. The other *s* runes however throughout Bewcastle agree with those on Ruthwell in having short or half verticals supporting the transverse. There are also two examples on Bewcastle of the short or half upright

[1] Cf. *Crist* and *cwomu*, Fig. 17, west.

[2] Compare Fig. 18, 6. It may be pointed out that this *c* rune on Bewcastle is not marked by points above the two shoulders, or by a short even lateral through the upright (cf. Bishop Browne, *Ancient Cross Shafts*, etc., Cambridge, 1916, pp. 79-81). Nor does there seem to be any warrant for interpreting the form as 'ornamental' or 'decorative.'

for the *i* rune, both on the main west panel (Nos. 6 and 71); and the single transverse form of the *h* rune has been read in the same place in No. 73 by Maughan, Haigh, Stephens, and Stuart. We have not admitted this letter into our text as we could not be satisfied that it was not a runic E. See the photograph, Pl. xxvi. Generally, in respect of these formal differences, it may be said that Bewcastle gives the impression of being of less accomplished or less consistent workmanship, and this agrees with what is said later on (p. 316).

(2) In point of occurrence it is noteworthy that three of the runes employed on Ruthwell do not appear *in the decipherable parts* of Bewcastle. These are the *æ*, *ēa* and *ƀ* runes (ᚪ, ᛠ and ᛒ). Nor, it seems, do two of them appear to have been read by former editors in any of the earlier decipherings of words not now legible.[1] It will be noticed however in this connection that the two runes for the *ġ g* series, and the three for the *ċ c k* series occur on both stones, and that their employment on these two apparently early crosses is the most distinctive characteristic, and difficulty, of the two monuments (p. 187).

(3) A second difference in respect of occurrence is provided by the presence of the bind-runes on Bewcastle. In the main text on Ruthwell, that is, in the lines corresponding to those in the Vercelli MS., there is no example of a bind-rune. But in the curved top-piece on the (present) north face there is one example in the *m* and *æ* of *mæ*, Fig. 18, 9. Bewcastle, on the other hand, is distinguished by five examples. In the west panel *þu* occurs three times,[2] and *on* once[3]; and there is the *us* of . *essus* on the top space of the north face, Fig. 18, 3. In the illegible ninth line of the west panel *hu* has been read by Haigh, Stephens, Maughan, and Collingwood in +*sawhula*; and in the first (illegible) word of the

[1] The ᛇ rune was read by Haigh, and copied by Taylor (probably), as No. 26 on the west panel.

[2] Fig. 18, 1, Nos. 12, 39, and 49.

[3] Fig. 18, 1, No. 18.

... *ġear* on the south face, Fig. 18, 5, *mà* has been read by Maughan, Haigh, Stuart, Bishop Browne, and others in +*fruman*. If there is insufficient authority and agreement for these latter examples, the five clear cases on the west panel and north face are beyond doubt.

(4) A fourth general difference, one of execution and scale, is sufficiently obvious to any one who has examined the two series of inscriptions, and the reader is here referred back to the general description of the crosses in an earlier chapter (p. 144).

(5) A last difference, and an important one, remains in point of legibility. Ruthwell has lost all traces of the runes at the foot of the four inscribed margins, at the middles of the margins where they have been covered with cement, and possibly at the beginning of the transom on the east face. For the rest the weathering has taken the form of crumbling or wearing on the edges of the narrow margins in such a way that the outer edge is as it were curved inwards, and the last letters on single or successive lines of runes are lost. With these two kinds of exceptions however the Ruthwell inscription can be read and interpreted as a whole without reasonable doubt. In Bewcastle the weathering has affected more or less indiscriminately the whole inscribed surface of the stone. On the west panel there are missing letters in line 3 (No. 26), line 4 (No. 35) and line 7 (No. 65); and the last three runes of line 8, and the whole of line 9, are now illegible. But in the rest also there are points of dubiety which cannot be said to yield complete or satisfactory evidence. The main words, and with them the substantial interpretation of the inscription, we may believe to be beyond the range of scepticism. But the detail of certain letters, and even, it is to be feared, the entire reading of certain words, will tend to vary with the skill or judgment of the decipherer. And it follows that to this extent the philological argument remains liable to qualification or compromise, and must stop short of agreement or completeness in the nature of the evidence it affords.

(6) The plates or transcripts to be used in collation for the text of the runes are the following :—

1695. Gibson's Camden's *Britannia*, II, p. 1030.
1742. Smith, *Gent. Mag.*, XII, pp. 132, 318, 369, 529 = Sm.
1794. Hutchison, *Hist. County Cumberland*, I, p. 80 = Hu.
1803. Howard, *Archaeologia*, XIV, Pl. 34 . . = Ho.
1816 (?). Lysons, D. and S., B.M. Drawings, No. 9462, 109, 113 . . . . . = $Ly._1$
1816. Lysons, D. and S., *Magna Britannia*, 1816, IV, p. 199 . . . . . = $Ly._2$
1854. Maughan, *Archæological Journal*, XI, pp. 130-4 = $Ma._1$
1857. Haigh, *Archæologia Æliana*, N.S., I, pp. 149-67 = $Ha._1$
1857. Maughan, *Memoir on Rom. Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle*, p. 33 . . . . = $Ma._2$
1861. Haigh, *Conquest of Britain*, Pl. 2, Fig. 2 . = $Ha._2$
1867. Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, II, Pl. 21-2 = Stu.
1866-7. Stephens, *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, I, p. 402 . . . . . } = Ste.
1884. Stephens, *Handbook of O.N.R.M.*, pp. 128-30 }
1892. Taylor, *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, IX, pp. 24-5 = Ta.
1895. Viëtor, *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, pp. 13-16 . . . . . = V.
1901. Collingwood, *Vict. Hist. Cumberland*, I, 278 . = Co.
1916. Bishop Browne, *Ancient Cross Shafts*, etc., p. 4 = Br.

Note.—Reproductions of Sm., Ho, $Ma._1$, $Ha._1$, $Ma._2$, and $Ha._2$ will be found in Cook, *Some Accounts of Bewcastle Cross*, Yale Studies, No. 50, 1914; and of $Ly._1$, $Ly._2$, and Ta. in King Hewison, *Runic Roods of Ruthwell and Bewcastle*, 1914. Full collation of earlier readings is given in Viëtor, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

II. (1) The main inscription on the panel of the west face is given on Pl. XXVI. On the sinister side of the plate appears an untouched photograph of the inscribed panel taken at a favourable moment when the sun was coming round

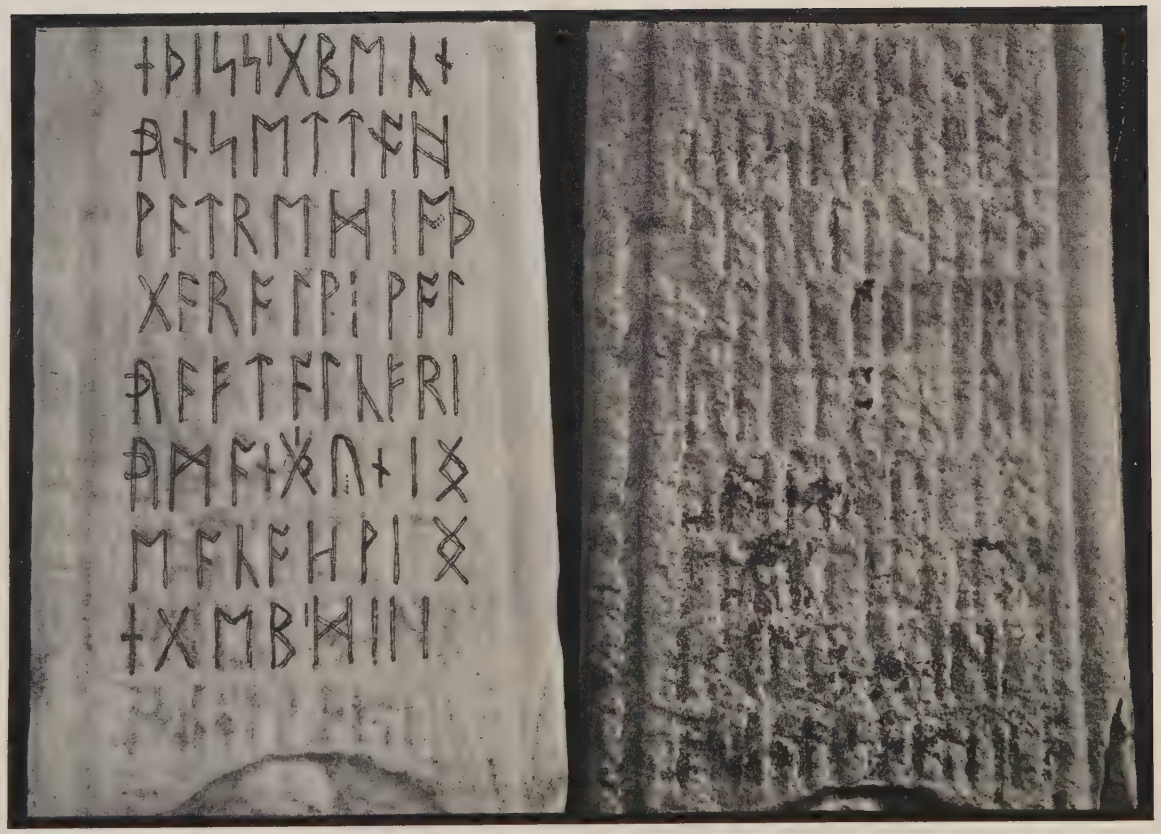


PLATE XXVI

THE RUNIC INSCRIPTION AT BEWCASTLE

from the south. The dark patches are lichen (p. 199). On the dexter side is a faint print from the same negative, and over the photographic indications of the characters have been drawn the markings which we are satisfied represent the strokes of the rune-cutter's chisel. The lines were drawn on the spot and have not since been touched. From this has been drawn Fig. 18, 1, which is constantly referred to in this chapter, as the text on which the commentary is based. It will be seen that the runes have been numbered continuously throughout the eight decipherable lines of the inscription, and are referred to by these numbers in what follows.

Line 1. 1-4. Ma.$_1$ gave the monogram *ihs* for these four letters; Ha.$_1$ read a cross followed by *pis*. Ma.$_2$ accepted this after 'good rubbings and repeated examinations of the stone,' and accordingly read † *pis*, though his plate gave an imperfect *thorn* rune, with only part of the loop deciphered. Ho. however had already given a clear enough *thorn* for the second letter. And Ly.$_1$ had shown Ma.'s imperfect *thorn*. The letters which are clear to-day are thus well enough supported by tradition. 6. Earlier readings all give the full-length form of the *i* rune. There is no trace of the lower half of the shaft having been inscribed; and the letter must be read as the shortened or half-length form. 7. Ma.$_2$, Ha.$_1$ and Ha.$_2$, Ste., and Stu. give ᚵ (*gar*), the rune for the back *g* sound. Co. and V. read ᚷ (*gifu*) the front *ġ* rune. Ta. gives the *gifu* rune with dots on either side of the centre. Ly.$_1$ and Ly.$_2$ however show a plain *gifu*, as does Ma.$_1$. There is thus early support for the *gifu* form, and the stone to-day shows no trace of the side loops of the *gar* form, or of Ta.'s points. 9-10. These two letters present some difficulty. The separate outlines of the *e* and *ċ* runes are plain. Between them the stone is marked in such a way as to make it possible that another stroke, or other strokes, once existed. The chief indication of this nature is a fairly well marked sloping stroke from the middle of the second upright of *e*. It might be read

as forming a bind-rune *e͡c*, or as the lower lateral of an *a* rune forming a bind-rune *e͡a*, but these forms cannot be regarded as established. Another mark faintly indicates a sloping lateral preceding the upright of the *ċ* rune in such a way as to suggest the *c* rune (*calc*). There is however still less warrant for reading this as constituted; and the letters must be taken as almost certainly providing *eċ*. Sm. shows a transcription in which the dexter shoulder of *calc* appears, and Ha.$_1$ and Ha.$_2$ give ᛝ for the runes 10-11, evidently reading the same lower lateral. There is not much authority therefore for the *calc* form. On the other hand Ho., Ly.$_1$, and Ma.$_1$ show the sloping lateral attached to the shaft of the *e* rune. Ma.$_2$ gives a bind-rune *e͡a*, and is followed by Stu. Ste. gives a bind-rune *e͡æ*, though he transcribes it as single *e*. C. shows *e* with a mark on the sinister side of the dexter shaft. V. reads *e* and *ċ*. On the whole then *eċ* must be taken to be the verdict of tradition, and as these are the two letters fully evidenced on the stone to-day, the bind-rune and the possible *calc* form, *c*, must be rejected.

Line 2. 12. Sm., Ho., Ly.$_1$, Ly.$_2$, Ha.$_1$, Ha.$_2$, and Ta. all read a plain *u* rune It is not clear however that, in the earlier readings particularly, the markings on the *u* letter had not been noticed, though they were not attributed to the bind-form *þ͡u*. Ma.$_1$ gave a *u* with a transverse mark across the left upright of the letter. Ma.$_2$ substituted for this *þ͡u*. In his note Ma. wrote: 'The cross bars in this letter were for a long time a complete puzzle to me, having been noticed by me from the first. . . . From Mr Howard's plate of the inscription it is evident that he had noticed these cross bars.' [1] Ma. further points out Ha. admitted the presence of the marks, but held that they were accidental.[2] Ste., V., and Co. read the bind-rune *þ͡u*, and it is clear enough on the stone. And as

[1] *Memoir*, etc., note 73; cf. Cook, *Some accounts*, p. 63. Howard's reading however does not show the cross bars.

[2] Cf. Cook, *op cit.*, p. 113.

there has never been any doubt apparently about the presence of the markings on the *u* form, but only a slowness to recognize their meaning, the reading *þu* may be taken as certain. 18. This is another clear case of a bind-rune. Ho. read a letter which is apparently *æ*, and this is the reading in L.$_1$. L.$_2$ recognizes that the lower transverse of the *æ* rune is prolonged to cross the upright, thus forming the bind-rune *æn*. This is also the reading of Co. Ha.$_1$ and Ha.$_2$ and Ta. read a plain *æ*. Ma.$_1$ has only an upright for this letter, but Ma.$_2$ gave the bind-rune *on*. Ste. and V. give *on*. On the stone, the oblique stroke crossing the upright is very clear, and the letter *n* is thus given. Equally clear is the small turn-up stroke at the end of this oblique. The upper oblique is also clear, though the turn-up stroke in this case is faint and almost lost. The bind-rune is however fully given by the lower oblique with its clear prolongation on either side, and its turn-up stroke. The reading therefore is *on*. 19. This is one of the broad letters characteristic of Bewcastle. Its outline, though flat, is quite clear.

Line 3. 20-25. The history of these six letters in plates and transcriptions puts it beyond doubt that they are to be read as *wætred*. The reading of all six in this way is practically unbroken from Sm. to V. Sm. shows an imperfect *æ*, and an *e* with traces of marks on it, and reads *b* in place of *d*. Ho. shows an imperfect *t* rune, and the unfinished outlines of *e* and *d*; Ma.$_1$ shows a *t* with traces of marking, and the unfinished outlines of *e* and *d*; and Stu. reads *o* for *æ*. But the consensus of the readings is clear for *wætred*; and all the letters are plain on the stone. 26-28. These letters cannot be said to have been so uniformly treated by transcribers. Sm. gave two imperfect letters, followed by an *e*; Ho.$_1$ and Ma.$_1$, only three uprights. Ha.$_1$ and Ha.$_2$ (followed by Ta.) contribute a reading of *eo* (the 13th letter of the Rune poem) and *m*. Ma.$_2$ offered *woþ*, and this has been the subsequent reading of Stu., Ste., Co., and V. Co.'s plate shows a faint and im-

perfect loop to the *w* rune. 26 cannot be read to-day; the stone is quite worn, and at the most there are only traces of a single upright. 27 has the upper lateral and turn-up stroke quite clear; but the turn-up on the second lateral is not traceable. 28 is plain. The reading of the three therefore must be given as *.oþ*; and it should be recorded that for the missing letter plates from Ma.$_2$ to V. (with the exception of Ha.$_2$) read *w*.

Line 4. The readings of this line appear to differ materially, but an examination of their history shows that the differences are slighter than the result at first sight suggests. 29 is given in plates from Ma.$_1$ to Br. as *gar*, the back *g* rune, with the exception of Co. who reads a *gifu*, with traces of marks on either side, and Ta. who reads *gifu* with points on either side. But Sm., Ho., Ly.$_1$, and Ly.$_2$ show *gifu*, and there is no trace to-day of the side loops of the *gar* rune. It must be read therefore as *gifu*=*ġ*. 30 has been read as *a* by V. and Br., and as *o* by Ma.$_2$, Stu., and Ste. But all other plates from Sm. onwards including Ma.$_1$ show *æ*. There is no trace of turn-up strokes on the laterals, and the rune is clearly *æ*. 31. This shows as an imperfect letter from Sm. to Ma.$_1$. Ha.$_1$, Ha.$_2$, and Ta. give *f*, Co., *a*, and the rest *o*. Both the turn-up strokes can be traced on the stone, and the rune must be held to be *o*. 33. Readings are divided between *l* and *æ*, the earlier favouring on the whole *æ*, and the latter *l*. If a second lateral was once written, it has left no traces now. 34. From Sm. to Ma.$_1$ a plain upright is all that shows. Thereafter all editors give *w*, except Ha.$_2$ and Ta. who read *b*. 35 cannot be held to be determined clearly either on the stone or by the help of tradition. It provides a probable upright and traces of laterals on the right hand which might come from the rune for *o* or for *f*. The plates from Sm. to Br. show this type of letter, and the laterals have been variously construed as giving *æ*, *o*, or *f*. 36 has a clear upright with a small weak loop. Earlier readings make it sufficiently plain

that the rune is *w*. 37-8 are clear as *o* and *l*. The earliest readings down to Ma.$_1$ do not establish any letters, and Ha.$_1$, Ha.$_2$, T. give *ld*. The *ol* of Ma.$_2$ is repeated by Stu., Ste., V., and Br. Co. gives two weak or imperfect *æ* runes or perhaps *æl* with markings below the lateral of the *l*.

Line 5. 39. The history of this second bind-rune ᚹᚢ, which is plain on the stone, has been much the same as 12. It was read as plain *u* until Ma.$_2$, and since then as ᚹᚢ, except by Ha.$_2$ and Ta. who retain *u*. 40. Some of the later readings of this rune (Br., V., Ste., Stu., Ma.$_2$) show it as *a* or *o*, though in both these forms it has been transliterated *a*. There is no trace of a turn-up to either of the laterals, and the rune is *æ*. This too was the reading from Sm. to Ma.$_1$, and is shown in Co. The reading of to-day therefore, *æ*, has the strong support of early tradition. 41 is sufficiently plain, and is supported by practically all earlier readings as *f*. 42, a *t* rune, is not in doubt, either on the stone or in former readings. 43. Until Ha.$_1$ the lower lateral of this rune was apparently not read. Ma.$_2$, Stu. gave a turn-up to their lateral, thus obtaining *o*. What appears to be a lower turn-up proves on examination to be lichen, and not an incision on the stone, and the rune is probably *a*. 44. This appears to be an *l* rune, and is so given in the great majority of earlier readings. 45. This is the rune *cen* for the front *c*-sound (=*ċ*). With the exception of Sm. who gives no reading, every plate from Ho. to Br. shows the sloping sinister lateral of the rune. Ho., Ly.$_1$, Ly.$_2$, Ha.$_1$, Ha.$_2$, and Ta. have also, in whole or part, an upper curved, making either a *b* rune, or a letter like our capital K. There seems to be no trace of upper marking on the stone, and the unanimity of the reading of the lower curve puts the reading as *ċ* (*cen*) practically beyond doubt. 46-8. There is again overwhelming evidence in the earlier plates for the *fri* in these three places. Ha.$_1$ and Ha.$_2$ (and therefore Ta.) have read *a* for 46, and Ha.$_2$ (and again Ta.) have given *æ* for 48. But there is no evidence for these additional

strokes on the stone, and no support for them in tradition. It should be noticed in this line that the condition of the runes on the panel to-day, and the verdict of tradition agree in furnishing reasonable warrant for the letters *æft alcfri*.

Line 6. 49. The history of this third bind-rune ᚦᚢ is much the same as that of the first and second. The reading ᚦᚣ was first proposed by Ma.$_2$, and is given in subsequent plates, though Ha.$_1$, Ha.$_2$, and Ta. show *y*. The bind-rune is quite as clear in this case as in the others. 50. This rune is a very plain *m*, not an *e*, and its history in the plates support this reading. The oblique strokes are prolonged past their point of intersection and then join the two uprights thus giving *m*, and *m* has been read by Ha.$_1$, Ha.$_2$, Ta., and Co. Br., V., Ste., and Ma.$_2$ show *e*. But in Ho. and Ly.$_1$ though the letter is not fully read or interpreted the points of juncture of the oblique strokes and the uprights show plainly, and confirm the present reading *m*. 51. The laterals and upper turn-up stroke of this rune have not been read uniformly; Co. omits the lower lateral and Stu., Ste. show a second turn-up stroke. But *a* is the reading in Ly.$_1$ and Ma.$_2$. 52. This *n* is plain, and its former history bears no doubt. 53. This rune presents first of all the clear outline of the *gifu* form. The upper half of an upright running through it is also visible. Faint traces of loops at either side of the intersection are present; but the rune is much weathered at the bottom, and the lower half of the upright is lost. Enough is given however to constitute beyond doubt the *k* rune ᚴ. This is the reading of Ha.$_1$, Ha.$_2$, and Ta., and there is no warrant in the stone for the *c* rune (pitchfork form) of Ma.$_2$, Stu., Ste., V., and Br. In some of the early plates, Sm. and Ho., the four ends of the obliques forming the outline show plainly, though the upright and loops are not read. 54. Read as *u* until Ha.$_1$, and as *y* in all plates since with the exception of Co. The *u* outline is quite clear; in the centre the stone is much worn, but has traces of marking, making the *y* form practically certain.

55-6 are not in doubt either on the stone, or in former readings. 57. Ha.$_1$ was the first to decipher this as the *ñ* rune, which occurs twice on Ruthwell (in the same word *kyniñċ*, and in *uñket*). Readings before Ha.$_1$ do not help.

Line 7. 58. *e* has been read since Ma.$_2$, with the exceptions of Ha.$_2$ and Ta., and the outline of this letter is suggested in the plates before Ma.$_2$. 60. Ha.$_1$, Ha.$_2$, and Ta. give the complex *k* rune for which there is no warrant. All other plates show the *ċ* rune (*cen*), and it is quite clear in the three earliest Sm., Ho., and Ly.$_1$. 61. Again with the exception of Ha.$_1$, Ha.$_2$, and Ta. who give *f*, this *o* rune appears from Ma.$_2$ to Br. Ly.$_1$ shows a lower lateral with turn-up, which of itself constitutes the letter. 62. This is the form of the *s* rune with the uprights probably both prolonged. 63. The loop of the *w* is small and faint in Co., and is omitted in plates before Ma.$_2$. 65. This rune is quite illegible, the stone being worn. But the space allows for a *u* form; and *u* has been read by Ho.$_1$, Ly.$_2$, Ma.$_2$, Stu., Ste., V., Co., and Br. 66. This *ñ* rune appears in all plates from Ha.$_1$.

Line 8. 67 is a cross, and has been so read from Ma.$_2$ to Br., with the exception of Ha.$_2$ and Ta. 68. There is no trace of the loops of the *gar* rune *g*, and *gifu*, *ġ*, must be read. Parts of its outline are shown in Sm., Ly.$_1$, and Ly.$_2$. Ha.$_1$, Ma.$_2$, Ha.$_2$, Ta., Ste., and Br. read *g* (*gar*), but there is no warrant on the stone. 69. There is no reading for this rune in the plates before Ha.$_1$, but from Ha.$_1$ to Br. all plates show *e*. The letter is plain on the stone. 70. The whole outline is not clear on the stone, but the upper loop of what must have been a *b* or *r* rune is plain. Co. shows only a blurred or marked upright, and Ha.$_1$, Ha.$_2$, and Ta. read the *gar* rune. Other plates from Ma.$_2$ show *b*; and in Sm. though the whole letter is not given the juncture of the two loops in the middle of the upright is quite plain. 71. Ha.$_1$, Ha.$_2$, Stu., Ta. read *æ*; all other plates show *i*. It appears however to have been the short or half-length form as in 6. 72. This letter is faint

and worn; it was probably a large or flat *d*, which is the reading of all plates from Ha.$_1$ to Br. 73-4 are quite illegible. They are given in plates from Ha.$_1$ to Br. as *he*, the *h* being in the single-oblique form. But these letters could only be conjectural if placed in the text to-day.

Line 9. This line is wholly illegible, and former plates fail to establish a consensus of readings, or even to supply a tradition of letters of similar shape. It need not therefore be discussed. See (p. 266 f.). Epigraphically, there is no congruity between the various readings; and the illegible line cannot be inferred or supplied from the divergent traditions.

From this analysis it will be seen that the eight legible lines of the main panel provide an inscription of some 74 runes. Of these not more than 10 can be considered as doubtful or uncertain on the stone. It will be noticed too that the tradition of former readings is by no means so conflicting as might at first sight appear from the variants of so many plates. In reality there are three strong traditions, that of the earliest readings, Sm. to Ly.$_1$; that of Ha.$_1$ or Ha.$_2$ and its followers; and that of Ma.$_2$ and its followers. The more cautious readings of V. and Co. support in the main the tradition of Ma.$_2$; and they are in turn supported by the earliest tradition, and particularly by the imperfect but suggestive outlines of letters in Ly.$_1$. It should not be overlooked, either, that Ma.$_1$ sometimes corroborates this earlier tradition also. As a result more than 60 runes of the whole inscription are not ambiguous either on the stone or in the consensus of former readings. Six runes out of the whole number are not legible, and will not appear therefore in the present texts either runic or transliterated. Some four others are either faint or blurred, or bear traces of markings which may have belonged to other strokes, and therefore to other runes. Of these the most difficult and most important are the *eċ*, Nos. 9-10 of line 1. They have been given in the present reading in the light of what is most probable epi-

graphically, and most conformable to tradition. But with these exceptions, the inscription as a whole, not only in its main content but in all but a small minority of its actual words and forms, rests equally upon clear epigraphical evidence, and upon the weight of tradition.

(2) Above the figure of Christ on the west face of Bewcastle are two lines inscribed with the runes shown and transliterated in Fig. 18, 4

† ġessus
cristtus.

These letters are plain; and it should be noted that the *ġ* is the *gifu* rune with no trace of the side loops of the *gar* form, and that the *c* is the ordinary pitchfork form of the rune for this back sound of *c*. Both the side strokes of this rune, also, are curved as in the Ruthwell examples. The traditional reading of these two words does not go further back than Ha.$_1$. In Ly.$_1$, for example, the few strokes or scratches deciphered do not constitute any letters.[1] Ha.$_1$ was the first to give a reading. It differs from the present in only one point. For the pitchfork *c* he shows a *gifu* outline with an upright shaft through it; but he transliterates this form as *c*.[2] Ma.$_2$ shows in the upper line the *gar* rune with the side loops, and in the lower line the pitchfork *c* with square shoulders, and two dots above them. This reading has been repeated practically since Ma.$_2$, and may be seen in Stu., Ste., and in King Hewison (*op. cit.*, p. 42.) Cook however, though he retains this form of the pitchfork, shows the *gifu* (ġ) in the upper line.[3] The weak tradition therefore of *g* and square *c* in these positions must be overborne by the clear evidence of the stone in favour of the present reading. It should be noted also that the two *s*'s of the upper line, and the two *t*'s of the lower, are not in doubt either on the stone above or in any readings since Ha.$_1$.

[1] King Hewison, *op cit.*, p. 64. [2] Cf. Cook, *Some Accounts*, pp. 37-8.
[3] Cf. *Date of Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, p. 25.

(3) On the north face the most important inscription is that on the lowest of the spaces between the panels, cf. Pl. xxv, 4 and 5. It provides the reading *Cyniburug*. The *c* is the square-shouldered pitchfork rune without any markings; and this is the only example on Bewcastle of this form of the rune. The *y* rune is plain, and is constituted by its clear vertical stroke in the middle of the *u* outline. The *n* rune also is plain, and the letter after it is an *i*. The upright of the *i* bears traces of marking, or weathering, on either side. But there is no trace of the oblique transverse of an *n*. On the contrary the straight *i* stroke is untouched by the markings on either side of it, and can never have had a cross incision. The penultimate rune is a *u* much marked by transverse incisions, but without the vertical stroke of the *y* rune. The final rune is the *gar g*, with the loops plain. The reading of this word, and especially of the fourth rune as *i*, has been the subject of recent challenge and debate, and its history has been admirably traced by Viétor.[1] But its tradition is so important, and the evidence of that tradition so conclusive, that it may be summarized here.

The earliest account of the word is in Bainbriggs' *Letter* to Camden (1601). His reading is *D†BOROX*, where the cross stands for the runic *n* with the transverse stroke.[2] In Roscanock's *Letter* to Camden (1607), and in Camden's account in *Britannia* (1607) the word does not appear. In Nicolson's *Letter* to Walker (1685) the reading plainly is *cynn*. But in Nicolson's *Account of his Episcopal Visitation* (1703) the cross form of the *n* rune is not shown, but the upright of an *i* with a half cross stroke to the right.[3] In 1720 Cox's plate in *Magna Britannia* the first four runes read *cynn*, the second *n* being

[1] Cf. *Anglia, Beiblatt*, 26, 1915, pp. 7-9.

[2] Cf. B.M. MS. Cott. Julius F. 6, f. 321. Cf. also Cook, *Some Accounts*, p. 148.

[3] Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 133, says 'Again *Cynnburug*.' But N.'s plate is rather *cyni*.

given with the full cross stroke, as in Nicolson's first *Letter*. In Armstrong's plate in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1775) it does not occur; but with this exception from Sm. (1742) onwards there are readings by all the editors, and they may be cited as in the case of the west panel. Sm. reads for the third rune an upright with a small loop at the middle on the left side, and this is followed by the plain upright of an *i*. Sm.'s plate is therefore in favour of *cyni*. Ho. says of the whole word: 'It was very confused and imperfect, but appeared much in this form.' He then gives for the fourth rune a much marked or injured *i*.[1] Ho. shows very plainly *cyni*.[2] Ly.$_2$ shows *cyni* as plainly. There is the equivalent of a dot or marking at the right of the *i*, but nothing to contribute a second *n*. Ma.$_1$ shows apparently two *n*'s. But it is at least doubtful if this is intended.[3] The first *n* has the regular transverse oblique of this rune, sloping downwards from left to right. What has been read as the second *n* has nothing of the kind. The transverse stroke is at right angles, is not prolonged on either side, or is so short that it resembles points or markings on either side of the upright. The contrast with the former *n* is so great as to suggest that what is intended is an injured *i*;[4] and Viëtor is justified in his description of it as '*i* rather than, or as well as, *n*.'[5] Ha.$_1$ shows in his plate two *n*'s, though the oblique cross stroke of the second *n* is much shorter than that of the first.[6] But he transliterates the second as *i*,[7] and therefore must have meant in his plate to represent an *n* and a damaged *i* rather than two *n*'s. Ma.$_2$ altered his former reading, and showed two *n*'s very plainly.[8] Stu. and Ste. repeat this as *cynn*. Viëtor (1895) gave his judgment to the effect that in view of the continuous evidence of two hundred

[1] Again Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 134, says 'The reading of *Cynnburug*.' But cf. *idem*, p. 20, where the rune shows a damaged *i* not *n*.

[2] Cf. *idem*, pp. 24-5, Fig. 3.

[3] Cf. *idem*, p. 30.

[4] Cf. *idem*, p. 135, 'Again *Cynnburug*.'

[5] Cf. *Anglia, Beiblatt*, 26, p. 9.

[6] Cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 37, Fig. 8.

[7] Cf. *idem*, p. 39.

[8] Cf. *idem*, p. 99.

years in favour of *cyni*, the reading is to be taken as *cyni* and not *cynn*.[1] This verdict may be taken to establish the textual tradition. Bishop Browne seems to adhere to *Cynn*, but he at least once says that the second *n* is not improbably an *i*.[2]

It will be seen from this analysis that the important readings lie between 1601 and 1895; that twice before 1703 the crucial fourth rune was read as *n*; that in 1703 it was shown for the first time to be a damaged *i*; that it has only twice since then been read as *n* (by Cox and Ma.$_2$: Stu. and Ste. are, of course, followers of Ma.$_2$); that it has once been given as *n* or *i*; and that six times since Nicolson in 1703 it has been transcribed as an *i*, either plain or damaged. There is no word on Bewcastle therefore that can be said to be better vouched for than *cyniburug*. And Viëtor's latest summary must be accepted as an authoritative verdict: 'I have given expression to my conviction that the rune on the stone is a damaged *i*, similar to the cross-stroked damaged *u*, letter 8; and I believe that the history of the plates and readings agrees well with this. Clearly the damage was present as early as 1601.'[3]

(4) On three of the remaining border pieces on the north face runic letters have been read by Ha.$_1$ and Ma.$_2$. Ha.$_1$, who was the first to offer readings from these parts of the stone, gave *wilfrid preast* . . and *oslæak kyniñ*; Ma.$_2$ proposed *cyneswiþo*, *myrċno cyng*, and *wulfhere*.[4] These forms were repeated by Stu. and Ste.; but were rejected by Viëtor in

[1] Cf. Sicher ist und seit zweihundert Jahren fortlaufend bezeugt der name '*CYNIBURUG*'; und zwar ist *so*, nicht '*CYNNBURUG*' zu lesen. *Die North. Runenst.*, p. 16.

[2] Cf. *Ancient Cross Shafts*, etc., p. 77.

[3] Cf. 'Ich habe meiner überzeugung, dass die rune auf dem stein "verletztes i" ist, wie die achte "mehrfach quer verletztes u," "North. runenst." s. 14 ausdruck gegeben und glaube dass die geschichte der nachbildungen und lesungen gut dazu stimmt. Offenbar war die verletzung schon 1601 vorhanden und rührt wohl vom aushauen der inschrift her.' *Anglia, Beiblatt*, 26, p. 9.

[4] Ma. admitted that one of these lines was 'indistinct' and another 'very indistinct,' cf. Cook, *op cit.*, p. 102.

1895. The three borders are quite illegible to-day; and the forms suggested by Ha.$_1$ and Ma.$_2$ may be set aside as opinions.

(5) On the top space of the north side however can certainly be made out the runes . *essûs*, shown in Fig. 18, 3, of which the *us* are in the bind-rune form. Ha.$_1$ read them as † *gessu.*, the *u* being followed in his plate by a single upright. Ma.$_2$ shows † † † *gessus*. The *g* is given in his plate in the *gar* form; but he noted that the letters were 'quite distinct except the *g*.'[1] In view however of Ma.'s regular confusion of the *g* and *ġ* runes, and of the nature of the word, there is no reason for supposing that the first rune here was other than *ġ* (the *gifu* form).

(6) On the top space of the south face the runes *liċe.* can be deciphered, and are shown in Fig. 18, 3. And on the right hand of the lowest of the five spaces in this face the runes *ġear* are legible; but there is no clear trace of the word *fruman* before them. The readings proposed by M.$_2$ from the other three spaces are not supported on the stone, which is entirely illegible; they are not of a nature to inspire confidence; and Ma.'s words of introduction are not stronger than 'I venture to read,' 'We find traces of characters,' and 'I would suggest that the line may be read thus.'[2] They may be rejected as opinions therefore, along with those proposed on the south face.

(7) Finally there is the ancient reading on the lost epistyle of the cross. It has been shown (p. 113 f.) that there existed no less than four copies of this part of the inscription at the beginning of XVII. The reading in all four is *riċæs dryhtnæs*, though the two Cotton MSS. show *u* for *y*. There seems no reason for refusing to admit this to the tradition of the Bewcastle runic text, and it is given Fig. 18, 2.

III. The transliteration of the Runes. In a section of the

[1] Cf. Cook, *op cit.*, p. 104.

[2] Cf. *idem*, pp. 95-6.

preceding chapter (p. 211 f.) the general principles observed in transliterating the runic text of these two monuments were discussed and illustrated. Of the four cases described there in detail, one, the thirteenth letter of the Runic poem, does not occur on Bewcastle. A second, the *n* rune, occurs twice, in *kyniñ* and is *oswi . ñ.* *kyniñ* certainly calls for comment in view of the *kyniñc* of Ruthwell. And the spelling of *oswi . ñ* is of course really unknown. But in neither case does the *ñ* rune in itself offer difficulty. Nor does the distribution of the *g ġ* series. The examples are :—

ᚷ=ġ in *siġbeċn*, *.oþġær*, *ġebid..*, *ġessus*, ᚸ=*g* in *cyniburug*, *ġear*. On the other hand the distribution of the *c*, *ċ*, *k* series raises certain doubts, and calls for comment. The examples are :—ᚳ = *c* in *cristtus*, *cyniburug*. ᚳ =*ċ* in *siġbeċn*, *alċfriþum*, *eaċ*, *liċe.*, *riċæs*. ᚴ =*k* in *kyniñ*. Three difficulties are raised here ; first, of the employment of *ċ* in *siġbeċn*, and *alċfriþum*, where the front value of the *c*- (*k*-) sound can hardly be intended ; secondly, of the employment of *c* and *k* for the same sound in *cyniburug* and *kyniñ* ; and thirdly, of the representation of the final sound in *kyniñ*. The first of these words occurs in inscriptions as *bekun* on Falstone ;[1] and as *becun* on Thornhill III.[2] If the Bewcastle *beċn* is correctly deciphered, the sound represented by *ċ* cannot well have the front value, and the employment of the *cen* rune must be regarded as a mistake. It must be remembered, on the other hand, that neither the vowel *e* nor the rune *ċ* are quite certain. In *alċfriþum ċ* seems to have been used for the back sound χ. It has been suggested that the runic text may have followed a copy in Roman letters, and therefore employed *c* for *h* (=χ).[3] But, whatever the explanation, it is likely that we have here a

[1] Cf. Vičtor, *Northumbr. Runenst.*, p. 17 ; Stephens, *Handbook O.N.R.M.*, p. 136.

[2] Cf. Vičtor, *op. cit.*, p. 22 ; Stephens *O.N.R.M.*, III, 212.

[3] Cf. M. D. Forbes and Bruce Dickins, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 10, 1915, pp. 34-5.

second mistake in the use of this runic series. The state of the letter on the stone, and the evidence of tradition, point clearly to *ċ* as the actual rune inscribed. And though Viëtor, as often quoted, gave his judgment that the first few letters of this line (l. 5, west panel) are by no 'means certain,' [1] he gave the sixth as an unequivocal *ċ*. As for the employment of *c* and *k* in *cyniburug* and *kyniñ*, it can only be said that the two sounds must of course be the same, occurring not only before the same vowel but in the same word; and that the employment on Bewcastle of both the *c* and *k* runes for this sound is not in accordance with the phonetic discrimination of these two runes on Ruthwell. Lastly there is the representation of the final sound in *kyniñ* by *ñ*, as contrasted with the *ñċ* in the Ruthwell *kyniñċ*. If both these spellings are to be regarded as devices to show that the final sound of the word was a stop, a further ambiguity is thus introduced into the distribution of the three runes *c*, *ċ*, and *k* on these two monuments.

Three explanations of these variations naturally occur. The simplest is that the deciphering of the letters in question is at fault, particularly in the Bewcastle cases. It is the opinion of the present decipherer that this has to be allowed for to some extent in *siġbeċn*, on account of the heavy markings of the stone between the *e* and *ċ* runes; and in *alċfriþum*, on account of the weak outlines of the letters preceding the *ċ*, and the possibility that they might have supplied another syllable which ended correctly with the *ċ* sound. No such allowance can be asked for the cases of *cyniburug* and *kyniñ*, where the evidence of the initial runes of both words and of the final rune in *kyniñ* is definitive. A second explanation would be found by accepting the Bewcastle evidence as valid on all terms with the Ruthwell, and as not only supplementary to, but corrective of, the Ruthwell phonology. On this

[1] Cf. *Northumbr. Runenst.*, p. 15, 'alle beschädigt, aber, wie ich glaube, vorhanden.'

assumption one would then be driven to doubt whether the phonetic differences deduced from the formal differences were as clear as the formal differences themselves imply on Ruthwell. As against this however it has to be acknowledged that the Ruthwell evidence, both formal and phonological, is integral, and is both epigraphically and philologically complete. The third assumption would confine the phonetic difficulties to Bewcastle, since they are present in the Bewcastle text alone, and would suggest, as their cause, error or carelessness on the part of the inscriber. On the whole, the conclusion that the Bewcastle workman was uncertain in the employment of the *c ċ k* runes meets the nature of the evidence, and is not without support (on general grounds), as has been pointed out already, from other epigraphic features of his work. Such an assumption of course must be confessed to affect in part the evidence of Ruthwell for the clear discrimination of the members of this series. But it must not be overlooked that in the majority of the Bewcastle words in which these runes (and those for the *g ġ* series) occur, the usage is strictly in accordance with Ruthwell, as for instance in *. oþġær, ġebid, ġessus, ġear, cristtus, liċe, riċæs.*

IV. The Transliterated Text.

West. (a) † þis siġbeċn ᚦun settoᚾ Hwætred . oþġær Olw . olᚦu æft Alcfriᚦum an kyniᚾ eaċ Oswi . ñ. † ġebid . . . . . *West.* (b) † Ġessus Cristtus. *North.* (a) Cyniburug. *North.* (b) . essûs. *South.* (a) . . . . ġear. *South.* (b) liċe. *Epistyle.* riċæs dryhtnæs.

V. The Linguistic Evidence.

From the foregoing analysis of the runic text it will be seen that the content of the main Bewcastle inscription, that of the west panel, is complete and clear enough in sense to be recognized as being in the usual commemorative form; and that the incomplete eighth and illegible ninth lines probably

contained a version of the usual accompanying formula 'Pray for the soul of . . .' It will be seen further that from the point of view of both epigraphy and tradition the following words are not seriously to be doubted: *þis*, *þun*, *Hwætred*, *(W)oþgær*, *æft*, *an*, *kyniñ*, *eaċ*, *Oswi(u)ñ*, *ġebid*. . . . It has to be admitted on the other hand that *sigbeċn* and *settón* are not free from question in two of the letters of each word, and can only be regarded as *apparently* the forms on the stone; that the letters of *olw.wolþu* hide a proper name, or it may be two, which have not been recognized; and that *Alċfriþum*, the closing part of which is certain, is faintly and yet fairly attested in its opening letters. Outside the west panel are a number of words, of which *Ġessus Cristtus* and *Cyniburug* are quite certain, *riċæs dryhtnæs* to be accepted on the authority of tradition, and *. essus*, *liċe .*, and . . . . *ġear* clear if incomplete.[1] Of the forms thus provided the most significant are *æft*, *Alċfriþum*, *Cyniburug*, and *Ġessus Cristtus*; and as they have been subject to recent challenge and dispute[2] it may be well to summarize briefly the nature of the evidence they afford.

(1) *æft*. It is admitted[3] that this word can be read 'at least as certainly as anything else'; but it is claimed that it is not to be found elsewhere in English in the sense it bears here, though *æfter* does occur. Attention is drawn on the other hand to its occurrence on Scandinavian and Manx stones; and it is argued from this that 'Scandinavian influence from the West as accounting for the use of *æft* in this sense on the Bewcastle Cross' must be assumed;[4] and that since the Manx stones in question are to be dated 1050-1100 or later[5] we have an important *terminus a quo* for the English

[1] This conclusion should be compared with Viëtor's, *op cit.*, p. 16, with which in the important words (with the exception of the last rune of *Alcfriþum*) it is in substantial agreement.

[2] Cf. Cook, *Date of Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, 1912, pp. 249-52 and 254-5; and *Modern Language Notes*, 32, 1917, p. 361.

[3] Cf. Cook, *Date*, etc., p. 38. [4] ibid., p. 38. [5] ibid. p. 39.

stones bearing *æft* or *æfter* in this sense. There is however good ground for refusing to admit that this argument invalidates either the presence of *æft* with the meaning 'to the memory of' on Bewcastle, or the possibility of its occurrence in the earliest period of the Northumbrian dialect. In the first place (as is granted) the word *æfter* in this sense certainly does occur, in the *aft* . . . . . *swini* of Collingham,[1] the *æfter his breodera* of Yarm,[2] the *æftær Rætberhtæ* and *æftær eomæ* of Falstone,[3] the doubtful *æfter beornæ* of Dewsbury cross-head,[4] the *æfter Eþelwini* of Thornhill I,[5] the *æfte Eate∫nne* of Thornhill II,[6] and the *æft(er) Osber* . . . . of Thornhill III.[7] The variant forms *aft* . ., *æftær*, *æfter*, *æfte* are therefore of certain occurrence and authority. In the second place, since all these stones cannot possibly be referred to XI or later, and cannot be supposed to depend on Scandinavian or Manx influence, the use of *æfter* in this sense must be held to be established as English; and, as a matter of fact, no example is known of the use of the Scandinavian preposition in English. But if *æfter* is of English origin, and if it is represented in the series *aft* . ., *æftær*, *æfter*, *æfte*, the form *æft* might certainly have occurred, and need cause no surprise, especially in view of the *æfte* of Thornhill II. The theory therefore of Norse or Manx influence as accounting for the Bewcastle *æft*, and with it the theory of a late date for Bewcastle in respect of this form, are alike unnecessary and unwarranted.

(2) *Alc̆friþ̂um*. The epigraphic evidence for this form has already been given in the textual notes. If the word is cor-

[1] Cf. Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 128; Viëtor, *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, p. 20.

[2] Cf. Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[3] Cf. Stephens, *op cit.*, p. 136; Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Viëtor, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[4] Cf. Sweet, p. 129. [5] Cf. Viëtor, p. 22; Stephens, p. 148.

[6] Cf. Viëtor, p. 22; Stephens, p. 149.

[7] Cf. Stephens, p. 150; Viëtor, p. 22.

rectly read, the employment of the *ċ* rune must be assigned in all probability to the inscriber's error, and the -*þ͡um* must be interpreted as a runic copy of the Latin accusative form.[1] In view however of the fact that the majority of editors prefer the form *Alċfriþ͡u*, the objections that have been brought against this form also may be noted. For it has been advanced that *Alċfriþ͡u* cannot be masculine, 'since the accusative of *Alcfriþ* would be the same as the nominative, unless it were Latinized, when it would be *Alcfridum* not *Alċfriþu*'[2]; and further, that if we assume Norse influence for *æft*, *Alċfriþ͡u* must be understood as feminine. The *aft Friþu* of the Manx Inscription, Kirk Michael v,[3] is cited; and it is concluded that *Alċfriþ͡u* must be the name of a woman, and that 'all arguments for VII derived from an identification of the person named on the cross with the under-King of Deira accordingly fall to the ground.'[4] But, apart from the fact that no woman of the name *Alċfriþ͡u* is known, we may agree with Björkman that, on other grounds, 'no one will believe in a North. acc. fem. *alċfriþ͡u*.'[5] *Friþu* was originally and naturally an acc. masc.,[6] that is, a masc. *u*-stem noun with a preserved *u*; and the form is paralleled for VII by the *flodu* of the *Franks Casket*.[7] If therefore the form of this proper name on Bewcastle was *Alċfriþ͡u*, the argument for an early date is strong.[8] If, as suggested here, the form employed

[1] *Alċfriþ͡um* would thus appear to involve the supposition that 'the engraver was following a copy in Roman letters.' Cf. M. D. Forbes and Bruce Dickins, *Modern Language Review*, 10, 1915, p. 35.

[2] Cook, *Date*, etc., p. 42.

[3] Jualfir sunr Thurulfs hins Rauþa risti Krus þono aft Friþu muþur sino.' Cf. Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, 2nd ed., p. 201.

[4] Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 43. [5] Cf. *Englische Studien*, 51, 1917-18, p. 79.

[6] Cf. Scieners, *Grammar of O.E.* (Cook), § 271 and § 273, n. 4.

[7] Cf. Viëtor: 'Ich weiss nicht, ob Cook auch dieses etwa ins 11 oder 12 jh. herabrücken will, möchte es aber nicht glauben.' *Anglia, Beiblatt*, 26, 1915, p. 7.

[8] The mysterious *olw. wolþ͡u* presumably affords another example of this preserved-*u*.

was *Alċfriþum* no serious difficulty in the way of antiquity is raised. In neither case need we abandon the identification of the name with that of the under-King of Deira.

(3) *Cyniburug*. As regards the first part of this word, the fact as to the occurrence of *i* and *e* in unstressed syllables has been many times collected,[1] and the nature of the evidence has been indicated in the preceding chapter (p. 239). The second part of the word has recently been claimed as indicating comparatively late date, on the ground that it does not occur in the period covered by Sweet's *Oldest English Texts* (save in the negligible Namur MS. of Bede's *History*), while it is the 'predominant form' in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.[2] It is however a simple enough case of a word with a svarabhakti *-u*, and nothing is adduced in the argument which prevents the occurrence of such a form in early, indeed in the earliest, Northumbrian. In runic usage appeal can be made to the *worahto* of the Tune Stone,[3] the *worohtæ* of Kirkheaton,[4] the *Toroh-tredæ* of the Urswick Cross,[5] the *Cuþbœreh.* of the Lancaster Cross,[6] and the *wylif* and *berig* of the Franks Casket.[7] Linguistically, also, the svarabhakti vowel may almost be considered as characteristic of Old Northumbrian.[8] Further, *bearug* occurs in the Epinal Glossary ;[9] and Luick has given it as his opinion that the Bewcastle *burug* may be regarded as a 'strag-

[1] Cf. especially, Sieners, *Zu Cynewulf*, *Anglia*, 13, 1891 ; and Tupper, the *Philological Legend of Cynewulf*, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Amer.*, 26, 1911.

[2] Cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[3] Cf. Von Friesen, *Runenschrift* in Hoops, *Reallexicon der germanischen Altertums Kunde*, IV, 1919, p. 14 and Taf. I, 4.

[4] Cf. Chadwick, *Early Inscriptions from North of England*, *Yorkshire Dial. Soc.*, I, pt. 3, 1901, p. 79.

[5] Cf. above, p. 215.

[6] Stephens, *Handbook O.N.R.M.*, p. 124 ; Viëtor, *Die North. Runensteine*, p. 23.

[7] Napier, *Franks Casket* in *English Miscellany*, 1901, Pl. 2. and 3.

[8] Cf. Napier, *op. cit.*, p. 368 n. ; Bülbring, *Anglia*, *Beiblatt*, 9, 1898, p. 70 ; and forms cited by M. D. Forbes and Bruce Dickins, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[9] Cf. Sweet, *O.E.T.*, p. 78.

gler from a prehistoric sound development.'[1] In both its parts therefore the word *Cyniburug* bears evidence in favour of an early date.

(4) *Ġessus Cristtus.* It has been pointed out already (p. 213) that O.E. *g*(=Gmc. ^{+}j), and representing the vowel (*i*) with consonantal value fell together with the front sound *ġ*. In the Bewcastle *Ġessus* the Latin consonantal *i* is represented by the *gifu* rune; and from the point of view of runology no exception can be taken to this use of the rune *gifu* for initial *ġ*. It has however been contended again[2] that the only parallels are to be found in *Gesus* on the censers from Hesselager and Kullerup in Denmark, both of which probably date from the end of XIII. But not only does this not imply that the Latin form of the name could not have been produced with the rune *gifu* in England in VII, but there is a parallel form in the *Ġiuþeas* ('the Jews') or Giuþea s(umæ) ('some of the Jews') on the Franks Casket.[3] And since the Latin *J* was generally written *i* on O.E. MSS., and the Gmc. ^{+}j appear as a rule in O.E. MSS. as *g* rather than *i*, and the rune *gifu* was the natural sign in England for the Latin *I*, it may well be that the form in the Danish inscriptions is the result of English influence. It is, at any rate, quite unnecessary to postulate either Danish influence or late date for the Bewcastle *Ġessus*.

On the whole then, in spite of the worn condition of the Bewcastle runes, and without claiming more than reasonable probability for certain words, or minimizing either the runological or phonological difficulties which the Bewcastle forms raise, there do not seem to be valid grounds for refusing to believe that the inscription records the setting up of a cross to the memory of Alcfrith, the son of the Northumbrian

[1] Cf. *Historische Grammatik der englische Sprache*, § 316; and Björkman, *Englische Studien*, 51, p. 79.

[2] Cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[3] Cf. Napier, *op. cit.*, Pl. 4 and p. 370.

King Oswiu, or that it preserves the name of his wife Cyniburug, daughter of the Mercian King Penda. Nor do there seem to be sufficient linguistic grounds for doubting the antiquity of the inscriptions. In 1895 Viëtor wrote: 'Nothing prevents us seeing in the certain *Cyniburug* and the probable *Alĉfriþu* the daughter of Penda of Mercia, and her husband, the son of Oswiu of Northumbria.'[1] In 1915, taking review of the objections to this judgment that came into prominence in the interval, he was able to write, 'This is still my opinion.'[2] The more recent examination of the runes, which has resulted in the present text, has not been able to dispose of the difficulties that beset the distribution of the runes in the inscription, or of the uncertainty of some of the resultant linguistic forms. It is believed, on the other hand, that it has not brought to light fresh grounds for scepticism, or for any substantial displacement of the hitherto accredited date.

[1] Cf. *Die North. Runensteine*, p. 16.
[2] Cf. *Anglia, Beiblatt*, 26, p. 10.

CHAPTER X

THE RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE CROSSES: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS. (3) THE FOLIAGE, ANIMAL, AND FIGURE SCULPTURE; STYLE AND ICONOGRAPHY OF THE LAST

In regard to the provenance and affinities of the foliage and animal decoration, all through history the designer of good ornament has worked on a basis of convention and has depended far less on copying from nature and on symbolism than literary critics imagine. In the case before us there is considerable variety in the floral forms, and praiseworthy though futile efforts have been made to find in botanical books natural shapes in leaf and flower that resemble these forms and are therefore claimed as their prototypes. This is not the way the ornamentalist works. The forms he uses are as a rule derived from tradition, though they may be modified and enriched by the action of his individual taste and fancy as well as at times by details borrowed freshly from nature. The general scheme in the foliage panels on the crosses is the long established one of the undulating scroll, originating it seems in the Mycenaean period, in which the main stem gives out offshoots alternately to right and left that intersect the spaces with their curves and terminate in leaves, flowers, or bunches of berries or fruit. These details show considerable variety, and are fancifully treated, not copied directly from nature nor selected for any reasons of symbolism. The main scheme on the other hand is reminiscent of a symbolical motive. It is based on the vine, a floral motive that comes into vogue in the Hellenistic period and that was taken over with avidity by the early Christians with whom it carried a

symbolical significance as the True Vine, the birds and animals feeding upon the grapes having a far-off reference to the faithful nourished on divine food.

One striking detail of this foliage work is to be explained on the hypothesis of a vine scheme. It will be noticed that the main stems in some places on the Bewcastle cross, as shown Pl. xxi (p. 146) are divided into two or three. This division of a stem is in foliage ornament generally quite exceptional. In Gaul, Italy, the Hellenized East, the motive will be sought for in vain, but in the English Anglian region it is fairly common, and occurs on the shaft of the Acca cross from Hexham in the Durham Cathedral Library (p. 170 and Pl. xxv, 1). The source of it is probably to be found in Roman work, in the vine ornament on the so-called 'Samian' bowls which in this particular form is so common on the bowls as to be almost inseparable from them. Nos. 12, 13 on Pl. xxv show two examples in the North in the Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, that for all we know may have actually been seen by the carver of the Bewcastle cross. Similar specimens must certainly have come under his eye. The Anglian treatment of the divided stem differs however in a characteristic detail from that it received on the Roman bowls. The barbaric artist makes the multiplied stems interlace, whereas in classical work this feature of Hiberno-Saxon ornament does not appear. The point is one of some importance as evidence of Anglian provenance and authorship.

The statement that the underlying motive of all this foliage ornament is the vine may present some difficulty, for it is obvious at the first glance that there are details in these floral panels that are not in the least like vine foliage. The animals are sometimes pecking at what are clearly bunches of grapes, but in other places a cluster of berries appears enclosed in a sheath of leaves, and elsewhere again the berries seem to have been transformed into the inner petals of a flower. Examples will easily be found in the illustrations (Pll. xxi,

XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, etc.). On the Bewcastle cross especially there are rather elaborate flowers.

A bunch of grapes growing on the same stalk as leaves that form for it a sort of sheath is a botanical impossibility, for in the vine the cluster and the leaf have each its separate stem. In Gaul, Italy, the East, wherever the vine is a familiar plant, however far the motive is conventionalized, no such solecism in its treatment will be found; how then are we to explain the anomaly of the union of berries and foliage on the crosses? One possible explanation would be that the plant is not the vine at all, but another and perhaps a better one may be found in the following consideration. The floral scrolls in question may have been designed by an artist who had no personal acquaintance with the vine as a plant, but was taking the motive at second hand from specimens of Roman vine foliage in which the exact anatomy of the leaves and fruit and stems was not clearly indicated. There is a Roman vine scroll carved in stone at Carlisle on a slab shown No. 11 on Pl. XXV (p. 201) that is the sort of monument that might have given the general idea, while the piece of Roman vine carving shown No. 9 on Pl. XXV illustrates the manner in which the mistake above referred to may have arisen. As a fact each bunch of grapes and each leaf has here, as in nature, its separate stalk, but the *appearance*, partly due to the fact that some of the stalks are broken away, is in parts that of leaves covering the clusters and forming a sheath for them. The actual piece in question, No. 9, is at Budapest, but similar work may have existed in the north of England and given the artist of the cross a hint for his detailed treatment.

If the foliage be not of the vine there is only one other plant motive that might underlie it. Assuming a VII date, it may be confidently stated that at the time the only two traditional forms for scrolls of this kind were the so-called acanthus scroll, and that based on the vine. Now it is a noteworthy feature about the foliage on the crosses that no sign of the

acanthus is to be discerned. Nowhere is the particular division of the leaves or the sharply serrated edges of the acanthus in evidence, while the joints in the stems are not wrapped with ribbed acanthus leaves, but are treated with a thickening of the material and an indication of bands as if the parts were bound to prevent a split. The acanthus it must be noted plays an important part in Early Christian decoration, in the Byzantine Empire and in Egypt and Syria, but is by no means so common at the same period in the West. On the other hand the motive comes greatly into vogue in the latter region at the time of the Carolingian renaissance, and from about 800 till the introduction of naturalistic foliage in the early Gothic epoch the acanthus in its Carolingian form rules supreme, so that it is hard to find any early mediaeval floral ornament in which it does not make its appearance, and this applies very markedly to XI and XII. The fact that there is no trace on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses of the mediaeval acanthus is one of considerable moment from the point of view of chronology. It would certainly be surprising if such an amount of foliage ornament were designed and executed in post-Carolingian days without one appearance anywhere of the dominant, almost universal and exclusive, floral motive of the age, and we have here a strong argument for an early, that is pre-Carolingian, date for the crosses.

There exists a class of decorative works of the date last mentioned that may be referred to for purposes of comparison. The reference is to illuminated manuscripts mostly originating in parts of France and the Rhineland in VII and VIII and included in the great publication *Vor-Karolingische Miniaturen*.[1] In these there is a mingling of barbaric and classical influences, the abundant animal forms evincing the former, while the varied and loosely treated foliage sprays are ultimately of Roman origin. This foliage however ignores almost

[1] By E. Heinrich Zimmermann, Berlin, 1916. The work is referred to postea, in Chapters XIV to XVI.

PLATE XXVII

BEWCASTLE, DETAIL OF EASTERN FACE

entirely the acanthus motive, and employs as we shall presently see forms often very similar to those found on the crosses. These forms on the crosses may be classified in the following order, but it must be noted that within the classes indicated there is a good deal of variety, and the various single examples are not mechanically separated. We have then, (1) simple clusters of berries or grapes, (2) bunches of such berries emerging from a sheath of leaves, (3) many-petaled blossoms, or perhaps in some cases fan-like tufts or palmettes, issuing from a calyx formed of two long pointed leaves or at times of more broadly shaped leaves, (4) single leaf-like growths of flat triangular form flanked at their springing by two side growths and set at the end of stems, (5) long slender leaves occasionally found sheathing a stem as in the Roman acanthus scrolls but not showing any sign of the serrated edge of the acanthus.

As regards the explanation and the use of these forms, we have taken the bunches of berries, simple or sheathed in leaves, as grapes, and this is in accordance with tradition, for in Early Christian art the creature feeding in foliage is generally a grape eater, compare the sceat coins Vol. III, Pl. v, 1, 4, 8, Pl. VII, 6′, and p. 92. The animals on the cross however are not particular, for one of them on the Ruthwell cross is pecking at a flower. It is the berries that as a rule attract them, and a bird half-way up the east face at Bewcastle, treated in a front view in a really masterly fashion, Pl. XXVII, has picked one off a bunch and holds it in its bill. The many-petaled blossoms, sometimes suggesting a single sometimes a double flower, that are extremely bold and effective elements in the foliage compositions, may be regarded as free inventions similar to the added forms used in connection with classical scrolls such as those on the Ara Pacis, Rome, or the Biga of the Vatican.

The single leaf-like growths, that terminate stems in a manner that is highly conventional, seem to some extent

reminiscent of the classical palmettes that issue from a sort of calyx formed of sepals curling outwards volute fashion. The best preserved example is on the Bewcastle shaft near the top of the north side, Pl. xxix, and this exhibits the side growths as trilobed. In other cases they look like bunches of berries, and there is no example that is certainly a leaf-volute. The triangular growth itself appears to be a flat leaf with some palmette character but with the side ribs not all starting palmette-fashion from the base. There is nothing of the acanthus about it, nor has it the characteristics of the vine leaf, which in carefully worked ornament is generally divided into five lobes.

The animals in the foliage have already been enumerated (p. 141). They are rendered in spirited fashion and exhibit considerable variety in prose and action. This is especially the case with the birds, that are treated in profile or in front view with equal success, and the suggestion of solid form is always present. As regards the representation of the otter, a Cumbrian friend, who knows the beast that still haunts some of the streams of Lakeland, is quite sure of the identification. The creature is seen near the bottom of the panel on the west face at Ruthwell, Pl. xi (p. 103). It has lost the left hind-leg but the tail is quite in evidence. It seems of course to ourselves specially at home in a piece of North-country sculpture, but otters are found all over Europe and nearer Asia.

On the fanciful creatures, with the normal foreparts of a quadruped but hinderparts that end in a tail treated like a foliage stem, a word may be said as close parallels to them are to be found. No. 10 on Pl. xxv. (p 201) is a small object in cast bronze found in a Jutish tomb in Kent and dating in the latter part of VII, on which is a creature curiously like those on the crosses, while Fig. 19 shows a very similar beast in one of the illuminated manuscripts just referred to. This creature occurs in a foliage scroll the counterpart of those that we find

on the crosses, the resemblance in the conformation of the stems at the points of junction or rather divergence being most striking. The manuscript dates about the middle of VIII and Dr Zimmermann calls the detail a 'Nachklang' or echo of the Ruthwell-Bewcastle motive,[1] for which of course it helps us to fix the date. It is noted in the Introductory Chapter (p. 21) that this writer ascribes the work on the crosses to VII on the strength of the resemblance of the foliage forms to those found in this group of datable manuscripts. Especially marked is the resemblance in the absence of the acanthus, and the presence in many of the MSS. of palmettes similar to the leaves just noticed on the Bewcastle cross. In Fig. 19 there are no palmettes but we recognize in the scrolls a quadruped, a bird, and the fantastic monster at the bottom.

The archaeology of the foliage ornament is of less importance than its aesthetic quality. The designer of it had not only a good eye for the distribution of forms over a field but also boldness and decision in contrasting large masses with forms more delicate and complex. The pure foliage panels at Bewcastle represent a greater effort in design than the more simple scrolls with the animals. The two lower ones on the north and south faces have double stems issuing from the two lower corners of the panels, the upper ones where the stone is

[1] *Vor-Karolingische Miniaturen*, p. 30 and Pl. 309.

FIG. 19.—Foliage Scroll with animals, from Frankish MS. of VIII.

narrower are worked with one main stem alone. The lower panel on the south already shown Pl. xxi (p. 146) is important for its subdivided stems (p. 274) and also gives examples of the long narrow leaf sheathing a stem, but the bunches of berries are too much in evidence and give a look of monotony. On the other hand the lowest panel on the north side shown Pl. xxviii is a powerful piece of work, and merits Mr Calverley's praise of it as 'bearing vine-scrolls of perfect design and exquisite workmanship, more nobly conceived than perhaps anything of the kind which is known in the land.' [1] The two scrolls start from massive roots, approach and then diverge in grand sweeps to come together again at the summit of the panel. Within the great central space are two magnificent flowers the masses of which are well set off by the contrasted treatment of the lower spaces on each side where side stems are curled into spirals and interlaced with other subsidiary shoots. It is noteworthy above how the artist has worked for variety bringing on one side the stem over the uppermost leaf while on the other side the leaf lies over the stem. The top panel on this side is notable for its good preservation, and useful details can be made out on it. Pl. xxix gives it from a cast. The north side of the monument is protected by the proximity of the church, and to this is due the preservation of an important runic inscription (p. 201, cf. p. 250 f.) which can easily be read on the photograph, Pl. xxviii, above the foliage panel.

By far the most important element in the decoration of the crosses is the figure sculpture to which attention must now be directed.

One very effective criterion of date for monuments of this kind is iconography. Certain subjects belong to particular periods and do not occur outside ascertainable limits. Endeavours have been made to demonstrate the late date of the crosses on the ground that certain subjects upon them are

[1] *Early Sculptured Crosses in the Diocese of Carlisle*, Kendal, 1899, p. 40.

PLATE XXVIII

FOLIAGE PANEL, LOWER PART OF NORTHERN FACE, BEWCASTLE

PLATE XXIX

UPPERMOST PANEL ON NORTHERN FACE, BEWCASTLE

not known in art before the more advanced mediaeval period. Definite information on this point is therefore a desideratum, and it is not difficult to supply it.

Taking the various figure subjects which have already been described (p. 122 f.), it may be noted that the Evangelist John with the eagle and Matthew with the angel are familiar Early Christian subjects, occurring for example in mosaics of VIII in St Vitale, Ravenna;[1] John the Baptist, robed and carrying the Agnus Dei, is to be found very conspicuously displayed on the ivory chair of Maximian at Ravenna of VI. Christ in Glory is one of the subjects incised in wood on the coffin of St Cuthbert (p. 405), but the heads of quadrupeds under His feet have been noticed as, apparently, unique. The subject of St Anthony and St Paul is of course Egyptian. Its occurrence on some of the Irish crosses has been already referred to, and it has also been recognized on the Scottish carved stone slab at Nigg, Ross-shire. It occurs in XII work at Vézelay in France.[2] The Flight into Egypt, rendered in a manner curiously like the representation on the cross, makes its appearance on the golden medallions from Adana in Cilicia now at Constantinople, that date from VI or VII, and were published by Professor Strzygowski in the appendix to his *Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar* (Wien, 1891).

On the other side of the cross the appearance of the bird of the *falconidae* group need cause no surprise. It may be meant for an eagle, and this would explain the appearance of the archer in the panel below. There is no doubt however that the peculiar merit in an artistic sense of the representation should be explained in connection with the love of the Anglo-Saxons for the sport of hawking. It is because the artist knew and loved the falcon of sport that he fastens on this bird form with such keenness. It has been debated

[1] Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*, IV, Tav. 261, 263.

[2] Professor Albert S. Cook, *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, Yale University Press, 1912.

how early in the national history the sport was established in this country. The latest writer on the subject [1] says that it originated—probably as an importation from the East—among the Germans in II or III A.D., and by VI it was in full practice. Professor Montelius notes that in one of the tombs at Vendel in Sweden of VII there were found the bones of a sporting falcon, that had evidently been buried with its lord.[2] In the Life of the very early Welsh soldier-saint Illtyd, who is commemorated on a sculptured stone at Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire, there is a passage describing him on one occasion as being 'afar off with a hawk, which he sometimes would loose and direct after birds,' [3] but the date of the passage cannot be exactly fixed. The Anglo-Saxons adopted the craft from the continental Germans, and the letters of and to Boniface about the middle of VIII [4] show that at that date English kings were sending over to Germany for falcons of good breed of which there was at the time in Kent a poor supply. On the early Anglo-Saxon coins, the so-called sceattas, birds are shown repeatedly perched on the hand of a male figure and, though this can be interpreted as a sign of the vogue of hawking, it probably originated in the copying of a figure of Victory so borne by persons on Roman coins. An archer occurs not only on the Franks Casket of about 700 but on a piece of stone carving from Hexham that probably formed part of the sculptured decoration of the church Wilfrid built there about 675. It will be figured in a subsequent volume, together with other pieces of the same kind. They have been conjecturally put together by Professor

[1] Fritz Roeder, in the article 'Falkenbeize' in Hoops's *Reallexicon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1913.

[2] *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 224.

[3] Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 468.

[4] Printed in Migne, *Patrol. Curs. Compl.*, Ser. Lat., tom. LXXXIX, Boniface to Æthelbald of Mercia in 742, p. 750; Æthelberht II of Kent, 748-762, to Boniface, p. 776.

Lethaby. See his paper 'Is Ruthwell Cross an Anglo-Celtic Work?' in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. LXX, p. 157.

The Visitation is one of the subjects on the Adana medallions, and filled one of the panels, now lost, on the ivory chair of Maximian at Ravenna.[1] The Magdalen Washing the Feet of Christ does not seem to be known before IX, but the next subject, Christ Healing the Blind Man, is one of the most familiar on the Early Christian sarcophagi, and in ivory carvings. As was indicated (p. 136) the theme is rendered in an original fashion. The Annunciation is of course a favourite subject in all periods of Christian art save the earliest, and it occurs on the Adana medallions, but there are special features in the representation here that must presently be noticed. The Crucifixion, as is well known, is a motive from which the Christian artist in the earlier periods stood aloof. It never occurs in the Catacomb paintings nor in the mosaics of the great churches of IV and the immediately following centuries. Apart from a few engraved gems, the earliest known representations are on the carved wooden doors of S. Sabina at Rome and in an ivory carving in the British Museum, both of V, and in the famous 'Rabula' codex, a Syriac MS. of the Gospels in the Laurentian Library at Florence dated in the year 586. It would be quite possible in VII, and the dress of the Ruthwell figure would suit an early date. Later on of course the subject becomes exceedingly popular.

On the Bewcastle cross the figure of the Falconer has not unnaturally excited suspicion as it appears to some to indicate a condition of the sport more advanced than would be possible in VII. The figure, whomever he may represent, stands with the right hand grasping the light stick used for beating the reeds or bushes where birds may be in covert and holds a falcon in orthodox fashion on his gloved left wrist. Below is the creature's perch. From what has been said above however it may be judged that the representation would not

[1] *Felix Ravenna*, July 1912, p. 283.

be impossible at the latter part of VII, though a later date may to some seem historically more probable. Of the fourteen subjects here enumerated ten are distinctly authenticated as of early date. Of the four remaining ones, Anthony and Paul and the Magdalen at the feet of Christ are not so authenticated, but there is no reason why they should not appear in VII work. The Falconer and the Eagle or Falcon must be judged on the considerations just adduced.

Fig. 20.—Christ in Glory, from an Early Christian Tomb-painting at Alexandria.

If the subjects of the figure sculpture on the Ruthwell cross indicate on the whole an early date and suggest in some cases an oriental provenance, so too does their style. This style is of course in its origin classical, but it is far more Greek than Roman. It would not be easy to find a Christ-figure in Early Christian or mediaeval art more like the Christ of the crosses than the one shown in Fig. 20. This is an outline drawing of a painted figure of the Saviour that existed formerly in the Early Christian cemetery at Alexandria not far from 'Pompey's Pillar.' It has now perished, but it was published by Néroutsos Bey in his study '*L'ancienne Alexandrie*,'[1] from which it is here reproduced. The resemblance in general character and expression is quite unmistakable. It was natural that the Hellenic tradition should be maintained in greater purity

[1] Paris, Leroux, 1888, p. 49.

in the eastern parts of the classical world than in Italy, and sculpture not devoid of the old Attic grace and charm could be produced in Egypt, Syria, or Asia Minor down to V or VI, to the time indeed when the advancing tide of Saracenic invasion overwhelmed these seats of the older classical civilization. Good as some of this late but still Hellenistic sculpture may be, it is not better than some which is found on these Northumbrian crosses. The figures here are not Roman in type but in their grace, elasticity, and slender proportions are Greek, and this applies specially to the Christ, the figures in the Annunciation, the Flight into Egypt, and the Bewcastle 'Falconer.' Such qualities would be most in evidence in work that stood comparatively near to the classical period and was Greco-oriental in its origin. Some of the subjects have this significance, and it was noticed with surprise by Dr Stuhlfauth [1] that the attitude of Mary in the Annunciation is the standing one that is characteristically oriental, of what he terms the primitive Syro-Palestinian type.

It is another question how sculpture of this type came to be executed in Northumbria. No direct early connection between this region and the Hellenistic East can be proved, but the possibility of such a connection is obvious. The most prominent figure in the Anglo-Saxon Church in the last half of VII was Archbishop Theodore, a native of this very Hellenistic East. As early as the end of IV St Jerome in commenting on the description in Ezechiel of the ancient commerce of Tyre notices the commercial activity of the Syrians of his own day, that carried them into all parts of the Roman empire.[2] These Hellenized orientals maintained a traffic in works of

[1] *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst*, Freiburg, i. B., 1897, p. 71.

[2] Hieron. in Ezech. cap. xxvii, vers. 15, 16, Migne, xxv, 255. 'Usque hodie autem permanet in Syris ingenitus negotiationis ardor, qui per totum mundum lucri cupiditate discurrunt,' etc. See also St Jerome's Epistle cxxx, in Migne, vol. xxii, p. 1112.

art, and at times craftsmen also migrated to the West, for there are inscriptions attesting the presence of Syrian and Alexandrine glass workers in the Rhineland and Gaul.[1] In an article in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* for 1903 [2] M. Bréhier adduces early mediaeval evidence to show the presence of Syrian merchants at the chief towns of Italy, Gaul, and the Rhineland, who imported into the West the products of eastern Mediterranean lands. Among these, ivory carvings of the late Hellenistic style are quite a possible commodity, and carvers in stone from the same Greco-oriental centres may conceivably have found their way to the remoter parts of the West. These are of course mere conjectures, but the monuments and the style of their sculpture are facts, and, surprising as these are, there must be some explanation of them could it but be found. In any case there is no question that the best of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle sculpture finds its affinity in the latest good work of the classical schools in the Hellenistic East.

In relation therefore to the history of European art as a whole the earliest date to which the monuments could be assigned is the most likely one, but it is different when we view them in connection with the Anglo-Saxon polity and with the story of the Northumbrian Church. We have seen already (p. 152 f.) that the particular form of the monuments, the large free-standing cross of stone, was quite possible in the North at the time suggested, but it has been argued with some cogency that *artistic* work on such a scale and in an intractable material, so full of detail, and of such remarkable excellence, is unlikely at so early a date in the history of Teutonic Britain. Here is an undoubted difficulty that has proved decisive in the minds of some of our leading archaeologists and forced them, while maintaining the Anglian

[1] J. Pilloy, *Études sur d'anciens Lieux de Sépultures dans l'Aisne*, III, St Quentin, 1912, p. 296 f.

[2] Les Colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au Commencement du Moyen Age.

origin of the monuments, to relegate them to a later period than VII.

We have here to consider in the first place the general question of the possibility or likelihood of great achievements at comparatively early periods, and in the second the probabilities of the case in the light of the known facts of the political and religious history of Northumbria.

In regard to the first question, common sense postulates as normal a gradual process of development leading up to great achievements as the ultimate outcome, but common sense is here not entirely to be trusted, and as a matter of fact in the history of the arts the greatest works in a particular style or phase of art sometimes make their appearance surprisingly early, and everything in the same kind that comes after represents a decline rather than an advance. There is a contagious enthusiasm that may inspire the efforts of men in whom the spirit of a new movement is becoming incorporate, and this may carry them at a bound to heights that ordinary plodding steps would take a long time to climb. Any one unaware of the history of the Great Pyramid would certainly judge that it came at the end of a prolonged period in which this type of monument had been gradually improved and enlarged through the centuries. In truth the colossal tomb of King Chufu, though much larger and better executed than any of its numerous fellows, is one of the very first in its kind, probably indeed the very earliest of all that were planned of the fully developed pyramid shape from the outset. Only two prior examples, and those imperfect pyramids on oblong bases, are known. Again, in the long series of ancient Babylonian seals the earliest are in the nobler artistic qualities by common consent the finest. In early Greece the great Ionian temples of about 600 B.C. were in magnitude and perfect workmanship examplars for all the after periods of the art. The Pantheon at Rome of the time of Hadrian is the earliest and at the same time the grandest of all domes in monumental

masonry. What is there to lead up to the western façade of Chartres—in some respects the most inspired work of the whole Gothic period, but apparently a sudden creation with nothing of the same kind at its back? The decoration by Michelangelo of the roof of the Sistine chapel represents a technical achievement so extraordinary that common sense could only explain it on the supposition that the artist had worked in fresco for half a lifetime. As a fact it was the painter's first experience since his boyhood of the difficult technique, and his mastery of it is well nigh miraculous. In Celtic or Celticizing art of the Christian period there is an illustration of the same phenomenon. Sir E. Maunde Thompson writes of 'the sudden appearance of highly decorated manuscripts at a certain period without earlier specimens to show anything like a gradual development.'[1] Where are the earlier works that 'lead up to' the Gospels of Lindisfarne? In this country there is certainly nothing. In Ireland the Book of Durrow, a masterpiece of the first rank, may be a little earlier, but is itself like Melchisedec without a pedigree. In ancient Northumbria Wilfrid's minster at Hexham, though not the first important stone church in that kingdom, was of the first generation, and this building kept up its reputation throughout the Anglo-Saxon period as a landmark in architectural progress, and one of the most notable early churches on this side of the Alps. On the porch of the church at Monkwearmouth, almost contemporary with Hexham, there was displayed a life-sized statue in relief in stone,[2] an ambitious work to which the whole later Anglo-Saxon period offers hardly a parallel. What was there to lead up to this?

If it be granted then that the stone cross on a monumental

[1] *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1895, p. 3.

[2] It was not carved in a single stone, but in five separate stones superimposed. The work has been destroyed but enough remains to attest the former presence of the relief. See Vol. II, Fig. 79 and p. 146.

scale was a natural outcome of the artistic productivity of the older Northumbria, then there is no reason in the nature of things why the most ambitious achievements of this kind should not have been the first. This at any rate is the manner in which in many ages and many modes of production the genius of art has made itself manifest.

The figure sculpture is not only in a good late-classical style, but it exhibits technical qualities that remind us of the great age of the art of which in a sense it is the final outcome. This is seen specially at Ruthwell, where the relief is bold, in projection about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., and in the panel with Christ and the Magdalen (Pl. XIX) reaching $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., while in certain places (pp. 123, 126, 134) the forms were cut clean away from the ground so that the hand could be passed behind them, as can still be tested in the case of John Evangelist's eagle. The significance of this can hardly be over-estimated, and Wilhelm Vöge, writing of the west front of Chartres, lays special stress on the free cutting as the best evidence possible of true plastic feeling and vigour of craftsmanship marking a fine artistic epoch. On later Anglo-Saxon crosses no such plastic instinct is in evidence, and it does not revive till we approach the undercutting of the 'Early English' period. If we were to single out the two features appearing on the crosses that afford the strongest evidence of early date one would certainly be this plastic 'Formgefühl' of the Ruthwell carver, while the other would naturally be the main Bewcastle inscription to be analysed in Ch. IX, which if accepted at its face-value really carries with it the early date of the two monuments.

CHAPTER XI

THE RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE CROSSES: TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF ANCIENT NORTHUMBRIA IN THEIR BEARING ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE MONUMENTS

In respect of the second question, the relation of the monuments to the political history and geography of Northumbria, it must be remembered that Bewcastle is within the Bernician borders and within a walk of Hexham, which had been made by Wilfrid the centre of the religious and artistic life of the whole region. It was a Roman station and was accessible by a road that ran northwards from the important station Amboglanna, now Birdoswald, on the Roman Wall. It might at almost any time have been made the scene of Northumbrian activity in religion and art. Ruthwell, on the other hand, is not in Northumbria proper but in the British territory of Strathclyde. The Christianity of this region, the apostle of which was Kentigern, was necessarily of a Celtic type, and some expressions used by Bede when he wrote the closing paragraph of his History seem to show that the people of the district had the reputation of clinging somewhat doggedly to their traditional Celtic usages. Hence the erection in the Dumfriesshire region of Nithsdale of an Anglian religious monument was by no means a matter of course, and would certainly depend on very special conditions. What these conditions were, and at what epoch or epochs they were in force, must now be considered. We are concerned here with the extension at different periods of Anglian or Anglo-Saxon power over regions beyond the normal Teutonic area. The question here is:—At what periods in the history of the

Anglo-Saxon polity is it conceivable that works of this ambitious character were undertaken and carried out in these particular places, and more especially at Ruthwell ?

If we waive for the moment the consideration of the crosses from the points of view of religion and of art, and assume them possible at any reasonably admissible historical period, there can be no question at all that the most likely epoch is that of the reigns of King Oswy and King Ecgfrith of Northumbria in the last half of VII. At that time and at that time only the effective power of the Northumbrian kingdom extended to the north and west far and wide beyond the normal Bernician limits, while the kingdom was at the height of its power and, as Hexham showed, of its artistic productivity. Antiquaries may be led by extraneous considerations of one kind or another to prefer a date for the crosses in IX, X, XI, or XII, but no one of these, if he be fair minded, can refuse his assent to what has just been said. It is true that there was a later period when Bernician power was for a time again preponderant in Nithsdale, but the kingdom was then notoriously in a condition of decline ; still later the writs of Anglo-Saxon kings ran over the region, but these were not Northumbrian but West Saxon potentates ; and at a still more advanced date, after the Norman Conquest, the district was effectively ruled by a prince famous for his monumental achievements, but he was Anglo-Saxon in nothing but part of his blood and was entirely under the influence of Norman ecclesiastics. If ever the region about Ruthwell was in any effective sense really Anglian it was in the reigns of the two Northumbrian kings just mentioned.

A few paragraphs of a purely historical kind are here necessary to explain the relations among the various peoples inhabiting these parts of Great Britain. A convenient starting point in time is about the year 600.

Ruthwell is situated in the valley of the Nith that runs into the sea below Dumfries, and belonged politically to the British

kingdom of Alcluyd, called later on Strathclyde and Cumbria, which stretched from the Clyde where was its capital Alcluyd, now Dumbarton, to the Derwent in Cumberland, the old southern limit of the diocese of Carlisle. Further to the north and west lay the kingdom of the Scots of Dalriada, to the north and east that of the Picts, while to the south-west what is now Galloway was inhabited by a people whose ethnology is somewhat obscure. On the east was the formidable and increasing power of the Angles of Northumbria.

The first great Northumbrian conqueror Æthelfrith at the end of VI is stated by Bede to have 'conquered from the Britons more territory than any other chief or king, either subduing the inhabitants and making them tributary, or driving them out and planting the English in their room.'[1] A counter-offensive was engineered against him from the north in 603 by Aidan the powerful king of the Dalriad Scots, who in concurrence no doubt with the Britons of the kingdom of Alcluyd marched with immense forces against Æthelfrith, but suffered at his hands a crushing defeat at a place called by Bede[2] 'Degsastan,' identified with some plausibility with Dawston in Liddesdale. Since that time, the historian adds, no king of the Scots had dared to come out to battle against the English.

Professor Oman believes that 'the victory of Dawston must have confirmed Æthelfrith in the possession of the upper waters of the Tweed and its tributaries, as far as the watershed of the Clyde, and, no doubt, of the land round Carlisle and the west end of the Roman Wall also.'[3] The sceptre of Northumbria was next wielded by a hand more powerful still than Æthelfrith's, and Bede says that King Edwin reduced under his dominion all parts of the country English and British alike.[4] Edwin's power however went

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 34. [2] ibid., l.c.
[3] *England Before the Norman Conquest*, London, 1910, p. 251.
[4] *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 9.

down before a coalition between the heathen King Penda of Mercia and the Christian Cadwallon the British lord of North Wales. The whole of the North was ravaged, but Northumbrian power in its northern seat was soon after re-established by the memorable victory of King Oswald at Heavenfield, a little beyond the Roman wall four or five miles north of Hexham. This was in 636 A.D. Edwin had extended Northumbrian power to the Forth. Of Oswald Bede goes so far as to say that he 'brought under his rule all the nations and provinces of Britain divided as they are into the four tongues, Britons, Picts, Scots, and English.'[1] This implies a great extension of Northumbrian power to the north, for southwards it was always confined by that of Penda of Mercia, who ultimately brought Oswald to defeat and death. Once again the Mercian king held Northumbria in his grasp and harried it up to the very walls of Bamborough, but Oswy, who was the next effective Northumbrian monarch, seems to have established some *modus vivendi* with the formidable champion of heathenism, for he gave his daughter to Peada, Penda's eldest son, whose coins have his name in runes, and married his own son Alcfrith to that Cyniburga daughter of the Mercian king, whose name is inscribed on the Bewcastle cross. These matrimonial arrangements did not however eliminate strife, and this time when a decisive action was brought about Penda fell, and for a while Oswy remained in a position of practical supremacy in the country. After about 660 however the Mercian Wulfhere, a son of Penda, cut short Oswy's domination in central England but left him free to extend it unchecked towards the north, where, Bede tells us, 'Pictorum quoque et Scottorum gentes, quae septentrionales Brittaniae fines tenent, maxima ex parte perdomuit, ac tributarias fecit.'[2] 'To Oswiu,' writes Professor Hume Brown,[3] 'Bede ascribes even greater power than to Æthelfrith, or Edwin, or Oswald. In his later years, he . . . was virtual master of Dalriada,

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 6. [2] ibid., ii, 5. [3] *History of Scotland*, i, 17.

Strathclyde, and parts of the land of the Picts. . . . Over all three kingdoms . . . Northumbria for nearly thirty years must have exercised an effective suzerainty.' Of Wilfrid Bede tells us [1] that he was 'bishop of all the Northumbrians, and likewise of the Picts, so far as King Oswy was able to extend his dominions,' and Eddius in his Life of Wilfrid [2] writes of him at a later date as exercising ecclesiastical authority over Britons, Scots, and Picts.

This was in the time of Oswy's son and successor Ecgfrith, who early in his reign suppressed by force of arms a rising of the Picts against his rule,[3] and subsequently proved how complete was his command of the western side of the country by despatching in 684 A.D. a naval force against Ireland. The next year however witnessed the disaster which began the ruin of the fortunes of Northumbria, when Ecgfrith and his whole army which he had led into the North were cut off by the Picts on the fatal field of Nechtansmere. The result according to Bede [4] was that from that moment the hopes and the strength of Northumbria began to fail, the Picts resumed possession of the territories the Angles had taken from them, while the Dalriad Scots, and also 'certain of the Britons,' 'Brettonum quoque pars nonnulla,' recovered their liberty. This last clause obviously refers to parts of Strathclyde, which Professor Oman thinks may have actually been annexed by Oswy to Bernicia,[5] and which was certainly during this latter half of VII up to 685 completely subject to Northumbrian influence. How entirely Bernician at the time was Carlisle is shown by the fact that Ecgfrith had evidently made it his base of operations against the Picts of the North, and had left his Queen there in a newly founded Anglian monastery to await his

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 3.
[2] *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, 71/1, p. 31.
[3] Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, ubi supra, c. 19.
[4] *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 26.
[5] *England Before the Norman Conquest*, p. 295.

return. Cuthbert was present at the place and received there a mystic intimation of the disaster at the moment he was looking down into a ruined Roman well.[1] Carlisle was in his diocese and we are told that he came there to consecrate priests.[2] The Northumbria of Oswy and of Ecgfrith, if we include in it the territories which Bede describes as 'tributary to,' 'in the power of,' or 'appertaining to,'[3] Bernicia, covers the vast extent of country indicated in the Map, Fig. 21. This is based on the Map prepared by Mr W. J. Corbett for the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*[4] but embraces on the direct evidence of Bede portions of the Pictish lands. How far north of the Forth there was any effective Anglian suzerainty cannot be said, but the revolt of the northern Picts against Ecgfrith early in his reign shows that suzerainty was claimed. The kingdom of Alcluyd as a whole was certainly not included, and Clydesdale no doubt still obeyed the lords of the old fort of the Britons, while the more southerly portion of the Strathclyde kingdom, Annandale and Nithsdale, was Northumbrian, as was also the whole of the western coast of England between the Solway and the Ribble. Part of the region of Galloway beyond the Nith we are expressly told by Bede appertained to Bernicia.[5] This part was that about Candida Casa or Whithorn which had been the centre of the evangelizing activity of Ninian three hundred years before (Ch. 1), and Christianity in a British form may have survived there the conquest of Bernicia by the pagan Angles. We find it at any rate a little later than the time at which we have arrived the seat of an Anglian bishopric, and Bede mentions among the latest facts in his *Ecclesiastical History* the establishment thereat of Bishop

[1] Beda, *Vita S. Cudbercti*, C. xxvii. [2] ibid., C. xxvii.

[3] *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 5; iii, 6; iii, 4.

[4] Cambridge University Press, 1913, Map No. 17. The map is headed 'England circa A.D. 700' but this is of course fifteen years too late, as after Nechtansmere the recovery of liberty by the Scots and certain of the Britons meant a curtailment of limits towards Strathclyde.

[5] *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 4.

Pecthelm who was consecrated in 730 A.D.[1] This proves of course that even after Nechtansmere Carlisle must have remained in Northumbrian possession, and from Carlisle,

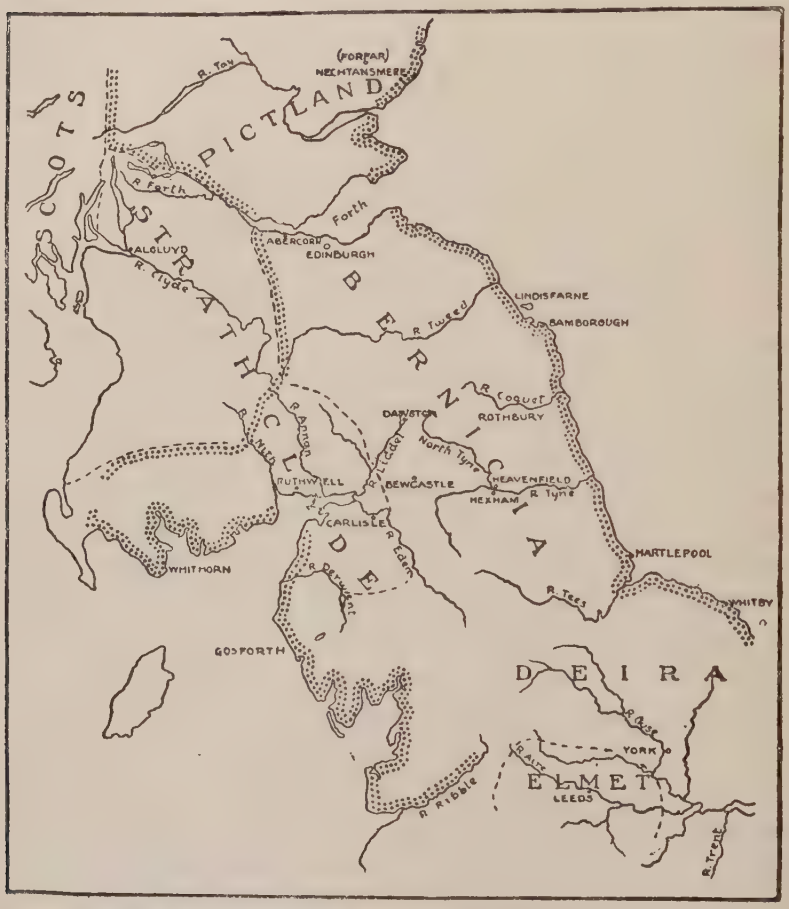


FIG. 21.—Map of district commonly called 'Strathclyde,' with adjacent regions.

through the sea-power of which Ecgfrith's earlier Irish expedition furnishes evidence, a hold can have been kept on the maritime peninsulas of Galloway. This Anglian see remained in existence at Whithorn till the end of VIII, after which the growing weakness of Northumbria caused its with-

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 4.

drawal. As Bede informs us (1) that after the defeat and death of Ecgfrith 'some of the Britons regained their liberty,'[1] and (2) that when he closed his history the Britons were in part their own masters but in part under subjection to the Angles,[2] it may be a matter for question how far we can assume any survival of Anglian authority in Strathclyde north of the Solway. The subject Britons may be those about Carlisle, and southwards.

Bede lived through the reigns of several of the successors of Ecgfrith and closes his history with some rather gloomy forebodings as to the future of his country. So long as he was keeping record, he gives us to understand that there was no recovery of the losses which had followed Nechtansmere,[3] but there was some revival under King Eadberct, 737-58, who in conjunction with Angus MacFergus the powerful king of the Picts took Alcluyd and recovered in a measure the overlordship of Strathclyde, which Professor Oman thinks may have remained in vassalage to Northumbria till the latter part of VIII.[4] The succession of the native kings of Alcluyd still however continued, even after the union of the Picts and Dalriad Scots in 844 under the effective sway of Kenneth MacAlpin. In the time of Kenneth's vigorous successor Constantin III, 900-942, the native line of Cumbrian princes failed, and kings of MacAlpin's family bore rule over Strathclyde, until its quasi-independent sovereignty was merged in that of the practical lord of all that is now Scotland, Malcolm II, 1005-34.

Malcolm's great achievement was the crushing defeat he inflicted on the Northumbrians in 1018 at Carham near Kelso, the result of which was the final cession of the Lothians from the Tweed northwards, which became then as it has ever

[1] antea (p. 294). [2] *Hist. Eccl.*, v, 23.

[3] ibid., iv, 26. Bede died in 735 but he ended his history in 731, forty-six years after the disaster.

[4] *England*, etc., p. 334.

since remained a part of Scotland. This was the completion of the long process of Bernician recession southwards which illustrates the gradual decay of Northumbrian power. After Ecgfrith's disaster in 685 the kingdom showed none of the recuperative power exhibited more than once in VII, and its history from Bede's time onwards is one of internal decay and outward weakening. Disputed successions, and the murders or forcible encloisterments that are their sequels and that remind us of earlier Merovingian crimes and disorders, brought the realm to a miserable pass, and it is noticed by Bishop Stubbs that of eight Northumbrian kings between 737 and 796 not one died a natural death while in possession of the sovereignty. The practical extinction of Northumbrian power and culture was brought about however in the succeeding century at the hands of the Danes, and there must be noted here the introduction in the later history of the region of two new factors, one the appearance and operations of the Danes, and the other the recrudescence of Anglo-Saxon power in the North in X, though not the power of the Angles but that of the now predominant rulers of Wessex.

It was not till 867 that the full force of the Viking onslaught was felt in England, and the blow was directed against the North. 'The doomed realm was Northumbria once the suzerain state of all England, but long a byword for its insane and never-ending civil strife.'[1] In 867 the 'Great Army,' as it was called, of the heathen invaders captured York and destroyed a Northumbrian levy led by two rival kings, making itself master of the southern Northumbrian province of Deira. North of the Tyne there appear to have survived native princes who were however at the mercy of the conquerors. A few years later part of the 'Great Army' set to work in earnest to ravage the northern province. Its leader was Halfdene, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *ad ann.* 875, tells us that he 'went with a part of his army into Northumbria,

[1] Oman, p. 435.

and took winter-quarters by the river Tyne; and the army subdued the land, and often harried on the Picts and on the Strathclyde Welsh,' while Symeon of Durham adds 'a cruel desolation of the Northumbrian province followed, while the army of the Danes was everywhere raging with savage fury. On all sides monasteries and churches were given to the flames, and to cut the story short, from the eastern sea across to the western there was continuous slaughter and fire.'[1] 'All monasteries were destroyed' is said in another place.[2]

After harrying the province Halfdene proceeded to settle it. The Chronicle, *ad ann.* 876, says that he divided the Northumbrian lands and arranged for their tillage, no doubt by the native peasants under Danes to whom the estates had been granted. The whole country became in a sense Danish, though in the northern province of Bernicia English life survived to a greater extent than in Deira. The invaders were heathen, and Christian buildings and monuments were burned or shattered. Symeon of Durham draws a picture of the bare walls of Jarrow monastery standing without a roof,[3] and those of the church at Monkwearmouth half in ruin with trees and shrubs filling the whole interior[4]—a memorial of the destruction of this time that lasted till the Norman Conquest. Wilfrid's monastery at Hexham was burned.[5] The monks of Lindisfarne abandoned their cloister in despair and bore away the body of St Cuthbert on their famous wanderings.

The question of the likelihood of the survival of destructible Christian monuments after this pagan inroad is one on which opinions may differ. Heathenism did not remain

[1] Hist. Dunelm. Eccl., ii, c. 6, in *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series, 75/1, p. 58.

[2] Hist. Regum., ibid., 75/2, p. 110.

[3] Hist. Dunelm. Eccl., ibid., iii, 21. [4] ibid., c. 22.

[5] Aelred of Riveaux, in Canon Raine's *Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Society, No. 44, p. 190, says of this destruction 'quidquid de lignis fuerat, ignis absumpsit.' The church is described by him, p. 191, as appearing subsequently to the Conquest in much the same condition as those of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth.

rampant, for we are told of Halfdene's successor that he was a Christian,[1] but the raid of 875 was no doubt fatal to many ecclesiastical monuments of value. As every student of monuments however knows, the word 'destruction' is used by mediaeval writers with considerable looseness, and it was not every Christian object that came under the notice of the Vikings, nor in the case of every monument actually attacked was the destruction complete.[2] The case of Monkwearmouth is typical. Here we know the ruin was great, but the well-known western porch is certainly a relic of pre-Danish days and has not been destroyed. The life-sized figure relief in stone below the gable, that has already been mentioned,[3] was perhaps hacked to pieces and was afterwards for neatness sake hewn away as it is now flat to the ground, but on the lower part of the porch there is delicate decorative work that shows no sign of having been wantonly injured. Symeon of Durham's story of the cross at Lindisfarne broken by the Danes and mended again is referred to antea (p. 103). There is no mark of Danish hands on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses, unless it were they that knocked off the head of the former, but as we are told that the Strathclyde Welsh were harried[4] the Ruthwell monument may have lain in the road of the ravaging bands. It is probable that the question Could the crosses have survived if they had been in existence at the time? will be answered by each one with unconscious reference to the opinion he has previously formed as to the date of the monuments. It comes to a balance of chances. The monuments may have been in existence and by good fortune have escaped, while it is doubtless more likely that if

[1] Hist. Dunelm. Eccl., ii, 13.

[2] The Chronicle of Lanercost (quoted in Canon Raine's volume, Appendix, p. xxv) states distinctly that Wilfrid's church at Hexham remained till the Scottish incursion of 1296, and it is described in XII by Prior Richard of Hexham (ibid., p. 77).

[3] antea (p. 288).

[4] antea (p. 299).

they were standing in 875 one or other of them would have attracted hostile notice.

Independently of this Danish argument, the facts about Northumbrian history now detailed afford some solid ground for conjecture as to possible or likely dates. In the time of Oswy and Ecgfrith Northumbria was great, and the site of the Ruthwell cross was entirely within its control. After that epoch for a good part of VIII that part of Strathclyde nearest to the Solway would be within the Bernician sphere of influence, but the age was not one for great achievements in any department of activity. This does not mean that artistic production in VIII and IX was at a standstill. The number of carved stones that exist to this day in different parts of the ancient Northumbria is so great, that we must postulate considerable and long continued industry in this kind, and it is interesting to note that Scandinavian motives appear on not a few of them,[1] testifying to the permanent influence of the Danish immigrants. The noble Gosforth cross in Cumberland, which exhibits Norse motives modified by Christianity, is dated as late as the first part of XI. It needs hardly to be said that there are very few indeed of these numerous carved stones that show any approach to the artistic qualities of the work on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses. What are the relations between these two monuments and all the others is a question that has never yet been systematically treated.

From the historical point of view VIII would be possible for the crosses but hardly IX, for by the end of the former century all the outlying possessions of Northumbria had been lost,[2] and in the middle of the latter the line of Anglian kings

[1] It is of course a question that must be discussed in the sequel how far the references to Teutonic mythology found in Anglo-Saxon monuments are part of the traditional lore brought with them by the original invaders of Britain, how far later importations due to the Vikings.

[2] Oman, p. 334.

of Northumbria comes to an end, and they are succeeded by a Danish dynasty. When we pass to X the second of the two new factors referred to above comes into play, the great and aggressive power of Wessex. Symeon of Durham says that after the death of Guthred the Christian successor of Halfdene, King Alfred of Wessex assumed the government of Northumbria.[1] It was however Alfred's son and successor, Edward the Elder, who exercised in person his power in the North, though exactly what was the form of his dealings with it is a matter of doubt. With the advent of his son, the mighty Æthelstan, the supremacy of Wessex in this region was asserted by force of arms, even to the extent of a formal annexation of the Danish kingdom of Northumbria. Of his youthful brother Edmund who succeeded Æthelstan the Chronicle records that after harrying Cumberland he gave it over under conditions to Malcom I of Scotland. This was in 945. The district in question was not the ancient kingdom of Cumbria or Strathclyde as a whole, but rather the Scandinavian parts of the modern Cumberland, where the Norsemen have left such clear traces of themselves in the local nomenclature. The next king of Wessex, Eadred, confirmed the power of the now consolidated English kingdom over the partly Danish Northumbria, and it remained an integral part of the united realm under the rule of Eadgar.

By this time however the whole of the ancient Strathclyde was in the hands of the Scots, and Carlisle with the country to the north of it remained under Scottish control through the rest of the Anglo-Saxon period and down to the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I. The former of these possessed himself of the place by force of arms and fortified it with an earthen castle or burgh on the site of the present later Norman stronghold, while the latter founded there a bishopric. In the troubles of the time of Stephen however Carlisle passed again into the power of the Scots where it remained all through

[1] Hist. Dunelm. Eccl., ii, 14.

the memorable reign of David I, 1124-53, who before his accession had administered this part of Scotland as Earl of Cumbria. Under David the limits of the northern kingdom were extended at the expense of England and 'throughout the entire reign of Stephen, the Eden and the Tees,' rather than the Solway and the Tweed, 'were the boundaries of the two countries.'[1] After David's death at Carlisle in 1153 Henry II of England restored the older limits.

Both the West Saxon kings and David of Scotland controlled the sites of the crosses and possessed the power and the natural inclination which would have made the setting up of 'signs of victory' or of religious monuments of any kind a congenial task. David of Scotland's participation in the work is however necessarily excluded. As has been seen already (p. 191) the runic inscriptions on the crosses, alike in their form and in their content, supply convincing evidence that they are of pre-Conquest date, and it is only by ignoring or misinterpreting these that any plausible plea for a date in XII can be formulated. X undoubtedly offers more possibilities. It was a great artistic period in which were produced some of the masterpieces of Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship, and was an age of high aims and corresponding achievement. If it were not for the Anglian character of the monuments that have so many more parallels in the North than in the South, and for the Northumbrian language and lettering of the inscriptions, the theory of a date in X would have a good deal in its favour, though there would still be other difficulties in the way of it.

There is one possibility here that cannot be ignored. An argument not without some plausibility might be started on the basis of the Anglo-Saxon translation of Bede ascribed to King Alfred the Great.[2] This implies a keen interest in the heroic age of the North felt at the time in West Saxon circles,

[1] Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, I, 66.

[2] Plummer's *Baedae Opera Historica*, I, cxxviii.

and its promulgation would undoubtedly extend and intensify that interest among the leaders of thought and action. The northern writers claimed that Cuthbert appeared in a vision to Alfred in the marshes of Athelney and promised him victory, and that Alfred took over Northumbria after the death of Guthred the Christian successor of Halfdene.[1] Æthelstan showed his reverence for the northern saint in conspicuous fashion by his magnificent gifts to the shrine of St Cuthbert at Durham, amongst which are the world-famous embroidered stole and maniple.[2] It might be argued that Æthelstan, or a like-minded prince of his house, gave expression to the reverential feeling of the day for the age of the Northumbrian saints and heroes by erecting monuments in a semi-antiquarian spirit in honour of some of these departed worthies, on which their names might be inscribed. The fragmentary inscribed stones at Collingham and Hackness in Yorkshire might be worked in to support such a theory. Antique diction and lettering might be consciously used in accordance with the memorializing idea.

This theory of a date in X, though it might be seriously urged, would have still against it the arguments (1) that the figure sculpture would be hardly possible at a date so long after the Early Christian period, and (2) that the absence of acanthus foliage in a post-Carolingian monument would be extraordinary. The foliage in the Benedictional of Æthelwold and on the embroidered stole at Durham, both works of X, is acanthus.

[1] *Symeon of Durham*, Hist. Dunelm. Ecclesiae, II, 10, 14, Rolls Series, 75/1.

[2] *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series, 75/1, p. 211. The date of the gift was about 934 on the occasion of one of Æthelstan's military expeditions to the North.

CHAPTER XII

THE RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE CROSSES: SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF THE FOREGOING DISCUSSIONS; CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF THE EVIDENCES IN FAVOUR OF ANGLIAN AUTHORSHIP AND SEVENTH-CENTURY DATE. A SUGGESTION FOR THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE MONUMENTS

From the historical point of view it is clear that the two crosses would find a more natural location in VII than at any succeeding period, and the question must now be asked whether on artistic and also on philological grounds such a date be reasonably possible. With regard to the latter, the philological evidence taken by itself would perhaps as we have seen (p. 22) point rather to the first quarter of VIII than the last quarter of VII. On the artistic side, it must be repeated that the work in question is in some ways so excellent that its appearance at any time in Anglo-Saxon England is something like an artistic miracle, and we have really to seek for the epoch when it would be, not most likely, but, least surprising.

The co-operation of foreign artificers is possible in an outward sense at any conceivable period for the crosses, but the presence of such is only to be looked for at periods when the county was safe and prosperous. This was the case in the Northumbria of VII and early VIII, and also in X and first half of XI, when England had the reputation of being a wealthy country. Prior to the Conquest we are told by William of Poitiers that Germans versed in all the arts were accustomed to settle among the English, who, he says in the same sentence, were themselves, men and women alike, expert in the various

arts.[1] The hypothesis however that continental craftsmen were responsible for the fabrication of the crosses, though many have favoured it, becomes more difficult of acceptance the more critically it is examined. There is, it is true, the direct evidence of Bede[2] that when Benedict Biscop was building his monastery at Monkwearmouth in 674 he sent over to Gaul for masons to erect a stone church after the Roman manner, and also for workers in glass, a material that no one at that time in Britain could manipulate. The contemporary Life of Wilfrid by his companion Eddius is good authority for the fact that this energetic prelate in his journeys on ecclesiastical business took with him stone masons and men skilled in almost every art,[3] but nothing is said in the passage about the presence among these of foreigners. In the case of the song-master Ædde or Eddius (the writer of the Life) mentioned in the passage in note 3 Bede tells us[4] that Wilfrid invited him from Kent, which would suggest that the other craftsmen were also of Kentish origin. There may of course have been Franks among them, as Wilfrid was in close touch with some of the Gallic clergy, but there is no necessity for assuming this.[5]

As was noticed above, the presence on the crosses of inscriptions in Anglo-Frisian runes is almost destructive of

[1] Gul. Pict., apud Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Script. Ant.*, p. 211, B, 'Anglicae nationis feminae multum acu et auri textura egregie viri in omni valent artificio. Ad hoc incolere apud eos Germani solebant totium artium scientissimi.'

[2] *Historia Abbatum*, c. 5.

[3] Vita Wilfridi Episcopi, in *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, 71/1, p. 22, 'episcopalia officia per plura spatia agens, cum cantoribus Ædde et Eonan, et caementariis, omnisque paene artis institoribus. . . .'

[4] *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 2.

[5] Writers of XII speak of Wilfrid importing craftsmen from overseas, even from Rome, but there is nothing about this in the contemporary authorities. In XII it was the fashion of the times to regard Rome as the universal provider of all things ecclesiastical, even of the Orders of a purely Celtic missionary saint like Kentigern.

the hypothesis under consideration, unless it can be saved by assuming that foreign—Gallic, Italian, or Greek—carvers executed the figure sculpture and Latin lettering and called in local workmen to cut the runic inscriptions. But why, it may be asked, were there runes at all, when the classically trained artists could have expressed all that was required in Latin characters? Furthermore, did foreign workmen cut the Latin characters? What assurance have we of this? It is true that all arguments founded on the technical nature of the inscriptions are rendered uncertain (p. 48 f.) by our ignorance of the actual methods of work in connection with the cutting of lettering of the kind, but the fact remains that the letters forming the Latin inscriptions are not of the Italian or the Gallic type but very distinctively Hiberno-Saxon. If merely given the Latin words they were to cut, the foreign masons would have used forms far more of the normal classical kind. The specially local shapes of the letters must be due either to the fact that ecclesiastics of Lindisfarne or Hexham drew out the letters full size and the foreign workmen made accurate copies of them;[1] or, as an alternative, to the fact that local stone cutters, perhaps monks, put all the inscriptions round the figure panels which the foreign workmen had carved. Since foreign workmen could not have cut runes, and since the runic and Latin modes of writing interpenetrate on the Ruthwell cross (p. 144) and are very much alike as regards technical execution (p. 143) it would seem to follow that the inscriptions of both kinds were after all cut by native and not by foreign carvers. The mixed runic and Latin lettering on St Cuthbert's coffin (p. 405) and on later Anglo-Saxon coins was certainly the work of English hands, and the same may have been the case here, though the conclusion is a surprising one seeing that foreign carvers who could execute such excellent figure work must have been quite *au fait* with lettering.

[1] Quite unlikely in the case of the ligatured ET and the abbreviation of the end of TERGEBAT (p. 178).

Apart too from the artistic work involved there is the quarrying and preparation of the stone, and while foreign workmen might have worked in ease and contentment in a well-found Northumbrian cloister it is difficult to visualize carvers from Italy or the Hellenized East scouring the rugged and desolate moorlands in search of suitable material and bringing it cut to shape down to the level ground. This suggests rather that the industry was local, and if so there must have been good Anglian stone cutters, for the big shaft on the ridge above Bewcastle (p. 104) is manipulated in workmanlike fashion. It is a point to notice also that while the motive of the vine-scroll with animals is common to Christendom at large, the pure foliage panels at Bewcastle have no parallels in continental lands, and if they were devised by foreign workmen they would represent a quite original effort in design not on the lines of any traditional mainland style. All these considerations rather stand in the way of the once popular theory of the foreign workmen.

It is always of course a reasonable assumption that any immovable monument of local material is also of local execution, that is to say has been wrought by workmen of the district or at any rate the kingdom or political area wherein it is found. In a few concluding paragraphs this assumption may be tested in the present case, and the question discussed whether it is within reason to postulate for the crosses not only Anglian design but also Anglian workmanship.[1]

The popular prejudice against crediting our Anglo-Saxon forefathers with any artistic gifts need not stand in the way. Their racial character is supposed to be of a rather stolid and heavy order and most people would doubt if they had it in them at any time to achieve success in the arts. Happily however this is not a matter for *a priori* argument, for works

[1] The question has recently been discussed by Professor Lethaby in his paper 'Is Ruthwell Cross an Anglo-Celtic Work?' in vol. LXX of the *Archæological Journal*, London, 1913.

which are undoubtedly the product of Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship exist in sufficient numbers to prove the popular view erroneous. Reference must here be made to the matter contained in Vols. III and IV of the present work, and a few words of summary may in the circumstances be found useful. It has been shown in these volumes that Anglo-Saxon tombs have given to the light innumerable objects of personal adornment that are so different from objects of a similar kind found on the Continent that their native origin is fully established. The works in question, brooches, buckles, pendants and the like, date from all periods of VI and from the first half of VII, and in their design and character they represent a tradition of Germanic art which left its impress on all the lands of the West. As regards design, from the purely artistic point of view they are of no outstanding merit, and they decline in aesthetic value as VI passes on to VII. Their strong point is their technique, and in this the Anglo-Saxon specimens are of special excellence. In the casting and chasing of small objects in bronze, in fine gold work, and especially in the exact cutting and setting of semi-precious stones, the Anglo-Saxon craftsman rivalled the best of his continental contemporaries, and is practically the equal of the average practician in the greater ages of the industrial arts. This kind of work represented in the pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries declines, as has just been said, in aesthetic value as VII advances, but before it becomes artistically extinct a new form of decorative art has already made its appearance. In this form of art precision of technique is of slight account, but the qualities of design exhibited in it are of remarkable excellence. The reference is to the early set of Anglo-Saxon coins known as sceattas, that may begin in the last part of VI and that flourish through VII and a considerable part of VIII.

It is impossible to discuss the Anglo-Saxon capacity for art without taking due account of these early coins. They are on a minute scale, averaging about three-quarters the

diameter of a threepenny piece, but in the matter of design the coin artists seem simply to overflow with ideas, and they give rein to their fancy in copious and novel devices, often of a most quaint and spirited kind. The designs must of course be taken for what they are—sketchy studies on a minute scale with no pretensions to exactness of detail or to orthodox figure drawing. Their importance resides in their vivacity and varied character, and the boldness with which new motives are introduced and pressed into the service of the composition. It should be said that the coins though Anglo-Saxon are not in their origin Anglian, but belong to the southern and midland districts. The corresponding early coins of Northumbria, from Ecgfrith onwards, the so-called stycas, have not nearly so much merit in design as the sceattas of the more southerly parts of the country, and this may reduce the significance of the coins as evidence bearing on the Northumbrian origin of the work on the crosses.

We have here at any rate two forms of art prior to VIII that are undoubtedly Anglo-Saxon, and taken together they show that at this early period productions of high technical quality and of a vivacity and inventiveness in design that are quite extraordinary could be turned out of Anglo-Saxon workshops. To these examples of work prior to or contemporary with the crosses must be added two productions of high artistic value presently to be examined, the Ormside Bowl and the Gospels of Lindisfarne. The former is not certainly of Anglian origin, but it possesses characteristics that make it of value in the critical discussion of the crosses with which it is probably about coeval in date. The latter is of well-attested Anglian origin and date though the general style of it is Celtic or Hibernian. The consideration of these two VII masterpieces makes less startling the hypothesis of Anglian authorship for the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses. This Anglian authorship might mean design and artistic supervision of the whole of a work, and the actual execution of parts of it, with

the relegation of other portions to foreign employees. Or it might mean Anglian execution as well as Anglian design for the whole. It may reasonably be asked, if the Anglian writer of the Gospels of Lindisfarne achieved such a marked success in a style that was not Teutonic, might not Northumbrian carvers, inspired with the large and daring spirit of the time, have used foreign models in relief sculpture to something of the same effect? Imported ivories might furnish such models, though only of course on a very small scale. It may be freely admitted that the hypothesis is unlikely, but then the monuments in themselves are unlikely, so unlikely indeed, that were their mere existence and artistic character known and nothing else about them, it would be declared beyond the bounds of possibility that they could have come into being in VII or in any other Saxon century in northern Britain. The monuments however are there, though any hypothesis offered for their explanation must be a forced one, for they are certainly not what would naturally be expected in that region and in the Anglo-Saxon period.

In favour of an Anglian origin are some considerations of weight. The runes and the Anglo-Saxon poem would be at once explained, and the fact must not be lost sight of that the nine-line runic inscription on the principal face of the Bewcastle cross occupies the most prominent position on the face level with the eye of the spectator, and that it is as Anglian in content as in form. The curious treatment of the vine, so unlikely in a continental designer, and the emphasis on the bird form point in the same direction, while the bird itself, as seen for example on the top piece of the Ruthwell cross, Pl. xvi, 2, is treated in a very original style and is quite unlike a Roman eagle. The eagle with the evangelist John on the Ruthwell cross is a remarkable creation, and gives colour to the interpretation of the Bewcastle 'Falconer' that makes him a John the Evangelist treated in an unprecedented and

daringly secular fashion. Such boldness can be understood when account is taken of the designs on the sceat coins. The figure common on these that holds two crosses, one in each hand, sometimes changes one cross for a bird held falcon-fashion, Vol. III, Pl. VI, Nos. 1, 2, and in Pl. VIII, No. 16, he has dropped them both and exchanged them for two flowering stems. This is not treating the ecclesiastical motive with traditional reverence. The sudden appearance on the coins of freshly treated foliage motives in which no classical element is discernible has its bearing on the remarkable and wholly unconventional design of the foliage panels on the north and south faces of the Bewcastle cross.

The representation of the Christ figure with a moustache but no beard, see antea (p. 130), is much in favour of the theory of a Saxon carver, for in spite of its occasional appearance on Byzantine coins the moustache alone is distinctively Germanic and non-classical. Moustached heads occur on the sceat coins and are not uncommon on the carved crosses of Ireland, but the Christ figures on the latter are not so treated. A bearded Christ, or one with the face smooth, is of course quite normal, but the Ruthwell Christ has no sign of a beard while the moustache does not admit of a doubt.

On the hypothesis of Anglian workmanship could be best explained the curious lapses into crudity of treatment which occur here and there in the sculpture. The Magdalen's figure is the crucial instance, see Pl. XIX (p. 136). The general motive is very boldly devised, the striking mass of the votary's hair being very large in its treatment and worthy of the thought of a great artist, whereas the arm and hand are childishly bad, and it is hard to believe that any classically trained sculptor could have been responsible for them. The awkwardness of the figure of St John the Evangelist on the head of the Ruthwell cross has already been explained on the supposition that the artist was more interested in the bird

than in the man, and treated the latter in a summary fashion (p. 122 f.).

If an Anglian origin for the crosses be accepted, the most likely period would be the reign of Ecgfrith rather than that of his father Oswy. Oswy had at one time wielded more power than any English sovereign had up to his time possessed, and Ecgfrith entered upon an inheritance, diminished indeed in the south through the prowess of Wulfhere of Mercia, but offering splendid potentialities in the directions of the north and west. He was not only a warrior but evinced a taste for the monumental, and his reign till it was cut short by the disaster of Nechtansmere bade fair to be as fruitful in the arts of peace as in those of war. Eddius calls him 'Rex Christianissimus'[1] and the cross is very conspicuous on his coins. He was the founder of the monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, was present at the dedication of Wilfrid's church at Ripon,[2] and through his wife, the saintly Ethelthryth, made donation of the land for the building of Hexham Abbey.[3] The spirit of his time might very naturally embody itself in monuments of exceptional scope and beauty like the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, and they would take their place in the artistic movement in Bernicia of which the recognized landmarks are Hexham, Jarrow, and Monkwearmouth.

On previous pages the opinion has been expressed that the crosses may have been in some way motived by the Synod of Whitby, and that the reign of Ecgfrith is from the historical point of view the most likely date for their erection. On the basis of these two hypotheses there may now be offered a suggestion, it cannot claim to be more, as to the circumstances in which these two remarkable monuments came into being. The Synod of Whitby was held in 664, largely owing to the agency of Alcfrith son of the reigning Northumbrian monarch Oswy and under-King of Deira (p. 201). Oswy extended the power of Northumbria over Strathclyde, and

[1] *Vita Wilfridi*, c. xvi. [2] ibid., l.c. [3] ibid., c. xxii.

after his death in 671 his son and successor Ecgfrith gave a manifestation of his power in this northern portion of his realm by suppressing a rising of the Picts. The form of Christianity he represented was that of the partly romanized Anglo-Saxon Church of which Hexham was in those regions a metropolis. The traditional Christianity of Strathclyde was British, and the two sections of the Church did not agree. It is suggested therefore that early in his reign, say about 675, Ecgfrith employed the ecclesiastics and craftsmen of Hexham to erect at a suitable site in Strathclyde an imposing monument of Anglian Christianity. It was to be a glorification of the Cross and to combine classical motives in decoration with elements of a distinctly Anglian character. It was not to be placed in a church or churchyard but in the open where it would proclaim to all as a 'Sigbecn' the triumph in that region of the Church-forms that were then established in Bernicia. The idea was carried out by what we know as the Ruthwell cross.

The conditions under which the Bewcastle cross came into being were different, and it was the expression of private rather than public feelings. It is suggested that Hwætred, Wothgar, and the third or fourth whose name or names occur in the main inscription on the cross, were nobles who belonged to the comitatus of Alcfrith, and that when the cross at Ruthwell was set up they conceived the generous idea of signalizing by a similar monument the personal agency of their lord in the achievement of the Synod of Whitby. We hear nothing of Alcfrith after 664 and he may have died somewhat under a cloud as he seems to have rebelled at the end of his life against his father. Bewcastle churchyard may have been the place of his burial, and the cross intended for a funeral monument, as well as for a vindication of his public importance in connection with the event commemorated at Ruthwell. This suggestion is based on the fact of the existence of the second stone evidently designed for a fellow monument.

In the case of Acca bishop of Hexham (p. 170) a cross stood at the foot of the grave as well as at the head, and the two stones similarly placed marking the 'Giant's Grave' in the churchyard at Penrith are well known. The reason why the same scheme was not carried out to completion at Bewcastle we do not know. The second stone lies on the top of the ridge of a wild moor, perhaps a couple of miles from the line of the Roman road that passed a few hundred yards to the east of the shooting box called the Flett, and about 1200 ft. above the sea. See Fig. 9 (p. 104). The problem of getting a heavy stone down from a rugged height forms the subject of a characteristic story in one of the Irish Lives of St Brigid printed by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*.[1] After the death of the saint a new millstone was required for the Abbey mill at Kildare, and Cogitosus, an inmate at a later time of the monastery, writing about the year 800, gives us the story. Experienced stone workers were sent about the country to find a suitable stone. They pitched upon a mass of the requisite compactness that lay at the top of a lofty and craggy mountain, and, *more Hibernico*, set to work upon it without thinking how the stone when cut could be got down. A beautiful millstone was cut out and duly shaped and an ox-wain was sent out from the monastery to bring it in, but, alas, the oxen could not ascend the hill. With an expenditure of much time and labour the prior of the monastery, with a considerable company, accomplished the toilsome ascent of the mountain. There a warm discussion was held, and most voices were for cutting the loss and leaving the stone in its inaccessible eyrey. 'Not so,' was however the decision of the prior. With an appeal for the help of the holy St Brigid an effort must be made to get it down. The millstone seems then to have been lifted up on to its edge and a mighty shove is given to it in the direction of the slope. It trundles at first, we are told, slowly—'paullatim'—but 'instinctu

[1] Louvain, 1647, p. 523.

divino,' 'vires acquirit eundo,' and inspired and guided by the blessed St Brigid it begins a rapid flight towards the plain. The bigger obstacles it deftly avoids, but smaller rocks it surmounts in its stride and in an incredibly brief space of time reaches the bottom of the craggy slope where lies extended far and wide an Irish bog on which no foot of man or beast could safely rest. The stone however skims lightly over the surface to the firm ground beyond, where it reports itself to the attendants at the ox-wain, in which it is duly carted to the monastic mill. Later on it stood by the door of the Abbey church and played its part to the end by working miracles.

The stone on Langbar or White Lyne Common in Cumberland was not of a shape to accomplish a self-determined descent of the kind, but even apart from saintly encouragement it could have been got down without any extraordinary difficulty. It was never however moved, and it has lain there with the marks of the cutters' tools still seeming fresh upon it for twelve hundred years. The present Bewcastle cross would on this supposition be only half the intended monument for Alcfrith's grave. As would suit the hypothetical conditions of its erection it is more Anglian, and, if we may say so, more secular, than the cross at Ruthwell. The inscriptions are all in runes, and the most prominent position on the principal face is occupied by one that is of historical rather than religious import, and is in language and in the use of runic characters less scholarly and consistent than the inscription at Ruthwell. In the last two lines, where the lettering is much worn, but which begin with a cross and with a form of the verb that means to pray, Maughan wished to read a petition 'for the sin of his soul' with a reference to Alcfrith's act of rebellion, but there is no certainty about the reading. From the artistic standpoint the cross shows an advance on Ruthwell in the finish of the edges by roll mouldings. The unsatisfactory effect of the runic inscriptions on the narrow margins at Ruthwell may have been noticed, and provision made here for

the more fitting display of the lettering. The variation in the size of the characters according to their position also shows an advance. The panels of pure foliage represent a new and very effective artistic effort. The Christ figure is more beautiful than the companion piece at Ruthwell, and the fact that the sculpture generally, though equally fine in style with that of Ruthwell, is in lower relief (p. 289) may be significant as prefiguring the gradual change to the flatter mode of treatment seen on later Anglo-Saxon crosses. The introduction of the epistyle marks an advance on Ruthwell in the direction of the more elaborately treated 'Acca' head, and it has been suggested that the words inscribed on this epistyle had reference to Alcfrith. The indescribable charm that the monument derives from its present condition and surroundings formed the subject of a few sentences in the Introductory Chapter.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ORMSIDE BOWL

Attention may now be directed to a work of art probably of about the same date as the crosses but in scale and character so different that it cannot at first sight be seen to have anything in common with them. As a fact we shall learn that it illustrates in a curiously happy fashion some of the same artistic problems as those discussed in the preceding chapters.

The Ormside bowl at York has been mentioned already as connected loosely with the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses, both by the character of some of its ornamentation, and by the fact that the impression it produces on a first examination needs to be considerably modified when the analysis is made more searching. A paper in the Cumberland and Westmorland Society's *Transactions*[1] on 'Various Finds in Ormside Churchyard' states that 'early in this' (the 19th) 'century, at a date and under circumstances now unknown, a cup, cup cover, basin or bowl formed of two thin plates of metal, one silver, the other copper, both gilded, were found in the churchyard of Ormeshead' (the older name of the place which is near Appleby in Westmorland). It is now in the York Museum 'presented by Mr John Bland of Ormside Lodge, 1823,' and is one of the chief treasures of that important collection. Quite recently, in 1898, the same churchyard yielded up a fine Viking sword and other pieces belonging to a northern warrior's panoply, and this fact, together with the name of the place perpetuating as it does the memory of an Orm, suggests that the object was Viking loot, perhaps col-

[1] Vol. xv, 1899, p. 377.

PLATE XXX

THREE VIEWS OF THE ORMSIDE BOWL, YORK

lected by a chieftain in Halfdene's army (p. 298) who settled here and gave his name to the hamlet. Its immediate provenance may have been some monastery perhaps in Northumbria, but it is probable that its ultimate origin will have to be sought further afield, though still within the Germanic area.

The bowl measures 5½ inches in diameter by a height of about 2 inches, and Pl. xxx gives three views of it from photographs for which the writer is indebted to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.[1]

A cursory glance shows that the piece is a composite one, for the junctions of various parts are apparent to the eye and these parts present very obvious differences in their artistic treatment. Putting aside the very numerous small pieces in the form of fittings, fastenings, and ornaments, we find that the object is made up of four principal parts, the external bowl of thin silver plate hammered to shape, ornamented by the repoussé process with an elaborate and beautifully executed design, and gilded ; the interior lining of plain hammered copper that is a little higher than the external silver ; and two round medallions fixed inside and out in the centre of the bowl. There are also five subsidiary pieces. The one most in evidence, Pl. xxx, 1, is a circular rim of thickish silver clumsily adjusted on the exterior so as to cover the junction of the external medallion with the embossed silver plate. A second, not so obvious, consists in a narrow band of silver added at the top of the external bowl to make up its height to that of the copper lining, Pl. xxx, 2. This band is itself composite. There is first a strip of metal like a ribbon, ornamented with a continuous row of small repoussé bosses, that is soldered on to the copper lining and bordered above and below by strands of twisted silver wire. See Pl. xxxi, 1, where the band with the bosses is shown in part broken away.

[1] Cordial thanks are hereby rendered to the members of the staff of the Society who have greatly aided the writer in his investigations.

The detail is in itself entirely classical in design and execution, for late—or rather Gallo—Roman silver work found in northern France, and quite recently, as loot from that region, at Traprain Law in Haddingtonshire, uses the row of repoussé bosses as a common motive. Affixed to it, however, are four ornamental pieces in distinctively Teutonic taste, in the form of oblong cloisons filled with light-blue glass pastes. One of these remains perfect and is seen in Pl. xxxi, 1. They are placed accurately each over the centre of one of the decorated quadrants of the main surface of the bowl. The edge of the copper lining still rises a little above this band, and to it is adjusted a rim made of a split tube of silver that forms the final lip of the bowl. The other two subsidiary pieces consist in two very curious fastenings formed of bands of silver doubled over in a loop that embraces the split tube and terminates both inside and outside the bowl in horses' heads in cast silver. The band and the rim are neatly formed and adjusted, and the former at any rate is certainly part and parcel of the original design, but the silver loops, though deftly made, are evidently, like the circular rim of thickish silver, afterthoughts, for where they are now riveted on they cover parts of the repoussé design.

Noticing this, and observing also the marked difference in ornamental style between the two round medallions and the silver-gilt body of the bowl, the antiquary would naturally receive the impression that he is dealing with a made-up object, of which a beautiful piece of embossed silver of classic design forms the basis, but to which have been added at some later time two jewelled medallions in quite another style of art. The internal one closely resembles inlaid fibulae of Frankish provenance and Merovingian date, and the top plate of one of these fibulae seems to have been planted down in the bottom of the bowl by some barbaric workman who was furbishing up a damaged piece of much earlier date. If we test the truth of this impression by a much closer examina-

tion some quite unexpected results will be arrived at. First, as regards design, though the repoussé work with its birds, fantastic animals, and foliage, suggests the late-classical art of Alexandria or of Syria, yet it will be observed that these ornamental motives are accommodated to a scheme of spacing that is not classical at all, but barbaric of the migration period. There are four quadrants marked off by ribs beaten up in the metal, evidently by the same hand that executed the animals and foliage, the junctions being emphasized by four projecting bosses of polished metal. This arrangement in fours corresponds exactly with the scheme of decoration of the two central medallions, and moreover, the four projecting bosses with their settings are almost exactly the same as the midmost boss in the external medallion, so that we have really a scheme of five that is repeated on a smaller scale in the five bosses of each of the two circular medallions. The four bosses between the repoussé panels cannot be afterthoughts for their places are marked out by the ribs just mentioned which give the scheme for the repoussé enrichment, and it does not seem possible to dissociate them on the other side from the boss of the medallion. The only difference here is that the lower collar round the bottom of the setting of the central medallion is a somewhat elaborate plait instead of a cable of twisted wire. Emphasis on the midmost of five similar bosses is quite natural. The repoussé work of the interlaced and knotted cords on the external medallion is nothing like so well designed or executed as that of the animals and foliage on the bowl, but it is in the same technique, while on the other hand the loose knot-work on the interior medallion is formed by appliques of milled wire. This inner medallion, as has been said, resembles the upper plate of a Merovingian fibula and can be paralleled rather closely by a piece probably found in the Rhineland that is in the Museum at Liverpool and was figured in this work, Vol. IV, Pl. CXLVII, 1. Looking at this inner medallion by itself

one would certainly assume that it was an accidental acquisition with a separate provenance, and was adjusted ready made in its present situation, but regarded more closely it will be seen to be an integral part of the design as a whole. On the external medallion the four bosses round the centre are of a conical form and serve as feet for the bowl. Within each is a pin and these pins run up through the various thicknesses of metal and project into the interior. Here, as the lowest photograph, 3, on Pl. xxx makes clear, there emerge in the bottom of the round compartments, in which were set dark-blue glass pastes, the heads of these pins beaten out over bits of metal plate in the form of 'washers.' It will be noted that there are no visible means of fixing the two medallions in their places except by these pins running through all the thicknesses of metal, for the irregularly disposed rivet heads now seen on the inner medallion are of course connected with the later external rim of thickish silver. In view of these technical details, it is clear, first, that the two medallions must correspond exactly in size, and, next, that the pins must have been adjusted in their places and the whole firmly riveted together before the glass pastes were inserted in their settings. The two medallions are accordingly no casual adjuncts but were fashioned to correspond, and the inner one was in the process of making while the cup as a whole was being put together. The same was the case with the external upper band with the row of small bosses already described. The cloisons intended to hold the oblong light-blue glass pastes were riveted down in their places before the glass pastes were inserted. See Pl. xxx, 2, sinister side. On the strength of these considerations we should be inclined to pronounce the piece, with the exception of the circular rim of thickish silver and the loops with the horses' heads, a complete unity, and not the mere make-up which it at first appeared.

A further analysis of the construction of the bowl and of

the ornamental motives employed in its decoration yields the following.

Taking first the internal view, the lowest on Pl. xxx, we may note that the copper lining forms a complete bowl the central medallion being riveted over it by the pins which end under the bosses of blue glass paste. (The other rivet heads have been already explained as connected with the later external circular rim.) Four large rivet heads surrounded with collars of milled wire mark on the interior the places of attachment of the four large external bosses already discussed and close up under the rim are marks of other rivets similarly treated, four of which attach the cloisons with the oblong glass pastes, while other marks may have had to do with the fastening of the rim of split tubing, which will be referred to later on. On the central medallion itself there was a boss of some kind set in the middle and surrounded by sixteen small round cloisons each filled originally, not by pearls, but by greenish glass pastes. The four blue glass pastes are mounted *en cabochon* in settings surrounded with a band of wire twist surmounting one of milled wire. This same milled wire in different thicknesses surrounds the central ornament and is used to form the plaits and twists, rather loose in design, that come between the four bosses of blue glass paste. It must be noted that there are employed on different parts of the bowl plaits and twists genuinely formed of separate strands of wire of various thicknesses, as well as solid wire 'milled' by a process common alike in classical and in barbaric metal work, and also square wire twisted, as round the edge of the inner medallion. See for these technical processes, this work, Vol. III, pp. 302-12. These decorative bands are soldered down as collars or edgings or in the form of knot-work patterns, and the various soldering processes are carried out in a very workmanlike manner. The metal bosses are not, as has been stated, fixed with rivets, for they lie over the rivet heads, but the hammered silver bosses were soldered into upright rims

which again seem to have been soldered down on to the plates below, with collars of twisted wire, etc., soldered round them.

Transferring our attention to the exterior we are met by a curious fact. The embossed silver-gilt plate does not form a complete bowl but has the centre part, about 2 inches in diameter, cut cleanly away, so that the round medallion does not lie over it as the inner medallion lies over the

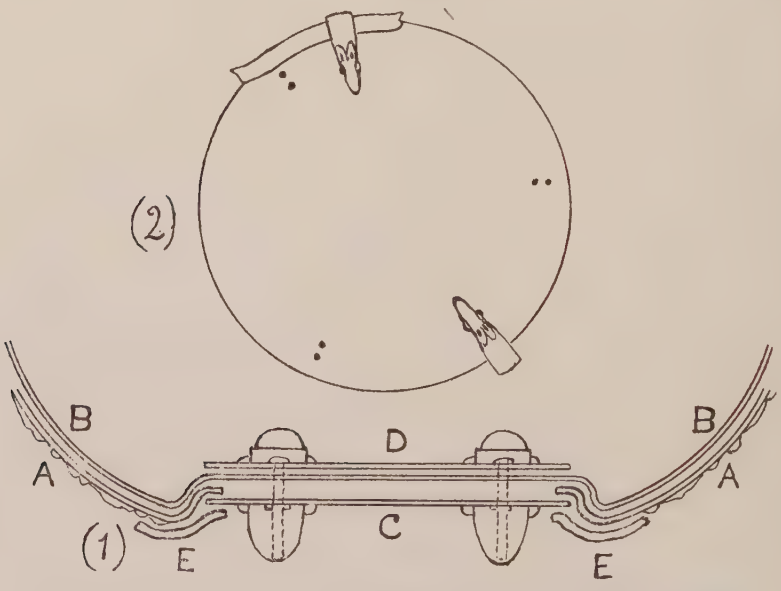
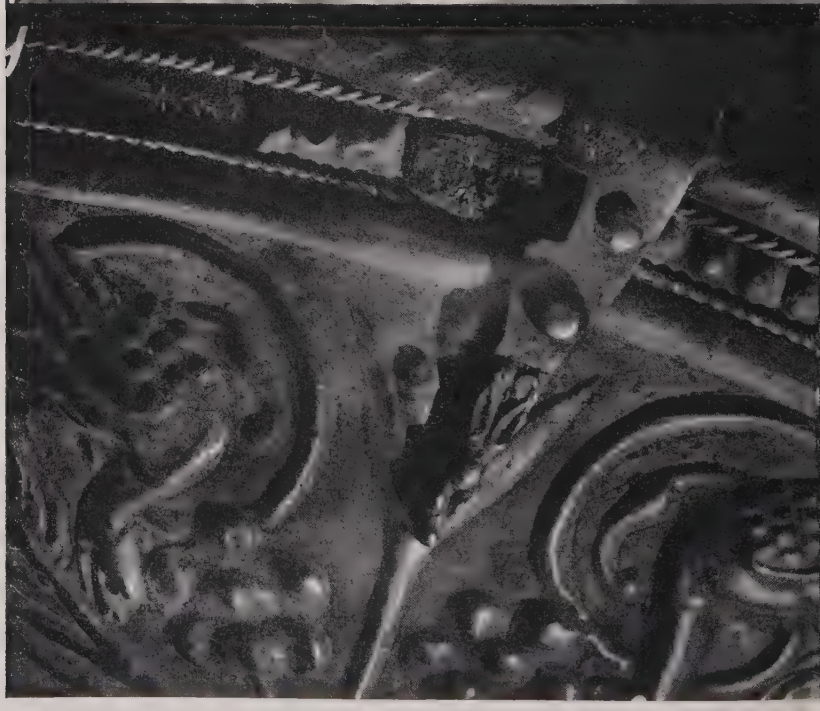


FIG. 22.—Construction of the Ormside Bowl, York. 1, Section; 2, Plan.

copper lining but just covers the aperture in the central part of it, overlapping slightly the edges. The diagram Fig. 22, 1, showing a simplified section of the piece, will explain the rather curious construction. The base of the whole cup is beaten in so as to cause a depression outside with a corresponding elevation in the interior after the familiar fashion of the Greek 'phialé omphalotos.' This it may be remarked is the normal form in that part of the Anglo-Saxon bronze bowls found in the cemeteries of the pagan period. The adjustment of the external medallion to the aperture in

1

3



PLA

ENLARGED DETAILS

2

4

XI

HE ORMSIDE BOWL

the gilded silver embossed plate is unfortunately concealed by the circular rim that has been riveted on at a later time, but in one part the external medallion has a portion broken away from its edge, and this enables the construction to be seen. In the detail photograph, Pl. xxxi, 4, the clumsy circular rim with its numerous rivet holes is much in evidence, and we notice too the conical bosses that served as feet for the cup. The one on the sinister side has kept the collar of milled wire round its base, and both, it will be seen, are surrounded by a raised ring in repoussé just as is the case with the four large exterior bosses on the sides of the cup. Between the two conical bosses visible on the plate is some repoussé knot-work, part of which is broken away with a jagged edge. A small bit of white paper is shown in the photograph as inserted under this edge, between it and the under surface of the copper lining, which is, it must be remembered, a complete bowl. Where, it may be asked, is the external silver plate with the animals and foliage? A small section of the edge of it where it has been cut away to form the central aperture appears from under the clumsy circular rim and lies over the little bit of white paper. Originally, of course, the plate of the external medallion lay over this edge and filled up the aperture, and in other places it can be seen in this position by peeping down under the thick circular rim that covers the junction. The join may have been caulked with white lead for under the coarse circular rim there is some white powder that may be the remains of this. In any case however, with so many rivets coming through its thickness the bowl cannot have been very suitable for holding liquids. One curious detail deserves special notice. It was seen that the four large external bosses have round them raised circles beaten up in the plate. Three of these are quite plain but the fourth is marked with a series of small round bosses alternating with upright lines, the former recalling in a more delicate form the repoussé bosses of the silver band above.

The rim of split tubing with the fastenings is puzzling, because though the former is a natural termination to the bowl the two loops ending in horses' heads are after additions. Mr Collingwood in his valuable paper on the bowl [1] thinks that there were five of these loops, and he bases this upon the presence, and evidence of the previous presence, of three sets of rivet holes over and above the two attachments of the horses' heads. As will be seen in the diagram, Fig. 22 (2), these three extra rivet holes in pairs are evenly distributed round the upper part of the bowl and may once have fastened three loops holding on the split tube rim, while the two horses' head loops may be clumsy later substitutes for these. We cannot imagine three other horse head loops where the rivet holes come, as the spacing would be very irregular, and five horses' heads so distributed would rather have spoiled the look of the piece. There would have been no difficulty in fixing the split tube rim by means of solder or by three loops where the rivet holes come, and we may assume that such a finish, for which the extra height of the inner copper lining seemed to be a preparation, was part of the original design. After the piece had passed as loot into the hands of a sea-rover, a silversmith of his own people may have added the horse head loops to fasten on the rim which was showing signs of coming away. In the case of one of the two existing loops, which was adjusted partly over one of the oblong glass pastes on the upper band, a portion of the silver has been cut away so as to clear the ornament, see Pl. xxxi, 3. This implies considerable respect for the beautiful object on the part of its Viking owner, but the craftsman might have managed his job with more judgment. The horse's head is a familiar northern motive, and occurs very commonly on the ends of the cruciform bronze fibulae, of early Teutonic date, on which Dr Haakon Schetelig has written.[2] Whether we should

[1] *Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. Soc. Transactions*, xv, 381.

[2] *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway*, Bergen, 1906.

accuse the maker of the horses' heads of adding the clumsy external rim round the base of the bowl may be left uncertain, but it is an eyesore, and it would be an advantage if it could be carefully removed without damage to the piece.

On the character of the repoussé work on the exterior of the bowl all that needs to be said is that it is as Hellenistic as the best of the figure sculpture on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses. The foliage in which the birds, quadrupeds, and fantastic creatures disport themselves is neither vine nor acanthus foliage, but derives some of its details from the latter. It is difficult to find any close parallel to it, and it is certainly not barbaric. Each quadrant is divided by a central foliage spray and on each side of this there is, above, a bird and, below, a bird or a quadruped or fantastic monster. The foliage sprays and the limbs or long necks of the creatures interpenetrate in a way that reminds us of northern interlacing work, and this is noticed by Mr Collingwood as giving a certain Germanic turn to the design which is however in the main entirely classical. There is delicacy and precision in the execution that is also classical and that gives the work a high artistic value. The enlarged photographs, Pl. xxxi, 1, 2, 3, furnish specimens. On Pl. xxxi, 1, we see in the upper part two spirited birds, and in the lower row on the dexter side a long-necked creature which it is suggested is meant for a camel, and whose head is hooked over a plant stem, followed by two quadrupeds intended for lions with heads down towards the ground. On Pl. xxxi, 3, the two birds in the upper row are head downwards, and are pecking—a common motive—at berries. A monster of the unicorn type and a fantastic goat-like creature also occur. As the work is not, in the writer's opinion, a product of this country but of Merovingian Gaul no further analysis of it is needful. Its importance, it may be repeated, resides in the proof it affords that in the middle or latter part of VII, to which date it can certainly

be ascribed, classical work of excellent design and execution can be found on a piece that in origin and general design is Germanic. This is of course a similar phenomenon to that which meets us when we examine the two Northumbrian crosses, and the little jewel at York reflects a welcome light on these august monuments.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GOSPELS OF LINDISFARNE: CHARACTER, HISTORY, AND CONTENTS OF THE CODEX

We have now to deal with a work of art of Northumbrian provenance of a kind and in a style quite different from anything we have had before us. It is an illuminated manuscript and the general style of it is Celtic or Irish.

The formation and early history of this Irish manuscript style are necessarily somewhat obscure owing to the fact that there seems to be nothing to represent the earlier stages of the development. Quite recently there appeared in Germany a monumental work on the decoration of pre-Carolingian manuscripts illustrated by nearly 350 photographic plates.[1] The most important MSS. from the artistic point of view are the Irish Book of Kells and the Gospels of Lindisfarne, and the writer, Dr Zimmermann, makes every effort to elucidate the questions of origin and development to which they give rise. He is forced however to confess that the necessary material is almost entirely wanting. In the case of the two great MSS. just named, and of others like the Irish Book of Durrow and the Gospels of St Chad at Litchfield possibly of Welsh origin, which in date and character are closely akin

[1] *Vor-Karolingische Miniaturen*, Herausgegeben von E. Heinrich Zimmermann, Berlin, 1916. It must be noted that this work, in spite of its rather comprehensive title, is one of a series called 'Denkmäler Deutscher Kunst,' and only deals with those manuscripts of the earlier Christian centuries that exhibit Germanic or Celtic elements. The numerous early codices of the late-classical schools in Italy or in the East are not included in the scope of the work.

to the two masterpieces, he puts it on record[1] that 'for Great Britain and Ireland manuscripts showing preliminary stages of development have not been preserved. We are suddenly brought face to face with codices which are adorned in the most lavish fashion and already represent a firmly established and distinctive style.' Dr Zimmermann goes on to recommend in relation to this phenomenon the same caution that was urged in a previous chapter of this volume in connection with the crosses. The crosses are works of the first importance and of the highest artistic and technical merit, but they appear suddenly without anything to lead up to them. It was maintained however (p. 287) that the evidence of artistic history as a whole gave no countenance to the idea that the best things of a special kind could not also be the earliest. In the particular case of the manuscripts, we now find Dr Zimmermann protesting against 'the supposition that the richer manuscripts must always also be the later in date, while on the other hand those more poorly equipped would represent an earlier stage. As a fact in the history of ornament there are instances enough in which the most elaborate member of a series makes its appearance at an early stage of the development, while what comes afterwards represents a gradual impoverishment of motives.' As an illustration of this principle he places the three books, of Durrow of Kells and of Lindisfarne, all at the same date, the beginning of VIII, and sees in them 'the first members and at the same time the principal representatives of three distinct schools, which in their further development run on parallel lines without exercising much influence on each other. Furthermore these three manuscripts are each for its school the starting point for subsequent changes of style.'

It is obvious that the sumptuous manuscript to which we must now turn is in its way almost as much of an artistic mystery as the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses. It is not like

[1] l.c. Einleitung, p. 21.

them a new thing in its kind, for the artistically embellished codex was an established institution in the earliest Christian and even in classical times, but in its extraordinary excellence it is a paradox, while the provenance of its ornamental motives opens up questions by no means easy to solve. From every point of view the work is worthy of extended treatment.

The mosaic decoration of the Baptistry at Ravenna, dating about 450 A.D., embodies certain representations of the Christian altar of the time and shows it in the form of a table on which supported by a sloping desk stands an open volume. This is the service book placed ready for its use by the ministrant, and it has been conjectured that in the decoration of these sacred codices one object in view was a sumptuous appearance on the occasion of this display before the congregation. Few books would compass this object more effectively than the illuminated volumes in the Celtic style of which the so-called 'Gospels of Lindisfarne' is one of the chief. In works of this class the first few words of each of the Gospels are displayed in fancy lettering on the recto of an elaborately enriched sheet while the verso of the folio before, on the dexter side as the book is opened, balances it with a composition in pure ornament. Seldom have the human hand and brain collaborated in a decorative scheme more logical more satisfying to our sense of just proportion and distribution, a scheme carried out with a taste in detail and a refinement in execution and finish more consistent in their perfection, than is the case with some of these wonderful folios. The motives and the artistic style they exhibit are of course in a sense entirely unclassical, but it is a complete mistake to regard the lavish enrichment with which they are covered as a mere veil of aimless forms and colours spread lace-like over the surface and meandering in oriental fashion wherever fancy leads. A Benedictine scholar who has perhaps done more for Christian archaeology on the monumental side than

any living writer, Dom H. Leclercq, has made it a reproach against Celtic ornamental art (if as he says it can be called art at all) that its one problem is—given a space to fill it at all hazard; and that the filling is effected by timid lines in trivial combinations, or by a zoomorphic decoration of which the monstrous ugliness adds only one element the more to the shocking incoherence of the whole. In the miniatures of the Christian books he allows that there are occasional linear combinations and juxtapositions of bright colours that give an effect that is almost agreeable, but it is only a 'trompe-l'œil' at best, and deserves no more than the rude work of the pagan period the glorious name of art.[1] Remembering the criticism of one of the most famous of Frenchmen on Shakespeare we need not be too much concerned at this sweeping attack on our insular productions.

Our admiration for the chaste outlines and classic grace of the 'Christ' or the 'Annunciation' on the great stone crosses need not blind us to qualities of decision, firmness, and balance in design which belong to all the best early Celtic art and are specially exemplified in the pages of pure ornament in the Lindisfarne manuscript. It will be shown in the sequel that there are qualities illustrated in these last named designs, that are not classical in the sense that they were directly derived from antique models, but *are* classical in the sense that they are based on fundamental principles of design that are in evidence in classical work but not in oriental. The oriental principle is the 'all-over' or 'all-along-from-end-to-end' principle, while that of classical design, as Heinrich Brunn was for ever impressing on his hearers at Munich, was that of the grouping in balanced opposition of lateral motives about a centre. How this is illustrated in the MS. will be seen as we proceed.

The work in question is called indifferently 'The Gospels of Lindisfarne,' 'The Gospels of St Cuthbert' or 'The

[1] Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, art. 'Celtique (art),' tom. II, p. 2957.

Durham Book,' and is identified by the Cottonian designation Nero D. IV. It is one of the chief treasures of the manuscript department in the British Museum, to which it was transferred with the collection of Sir Robert Cotton who had bought it in the reign of James I from Robert Bowyer, Clerk of the Parliaments. It had probably passed into secular hands at the dissolution of the monasteries, for it is proved from Lindisfarne inventories of XIV that it was then in the possession of that monastery. Early in XII Symeon of Durham [1] refers to a wonderful book preserved at the time of his writing at Durham, that is without doubt the manuscript in question. It had been carried away from Lindisfarne in 875 in company with the shrine that held the body of St Cuthbert, and it accompanied the sacred relics in their wanderings. On one occasion on an attempted voyage to Ireland it was lost overboard during a storm in the Solway Firth, but was recovered later on at low tide on the shore by Whithorn, perfect within and without as if the sea water had never touched it. On this story of the immersion a good deal has been said, but it is enough to remember that no miracle in the Lives of Celtic saints is more common than the preservation of sacred codices from the natural effects of a wetting. In the Lives already drawn on in connection with the crosses such notices are frequent, and there may be repeated here what was said before (p. 157 f.) that miraculous stories, even when told by good writers such as Bede and Adamnan about times with which they were almost contemporary, must be interpreted in the spirit of the period,[2] and do not cast discredit on the writers as serious and on the whole accurate historians. The story in Symeon does not stand alone but is only one of many of the same kind though perhaps unusually circumstantial; an instructive comment on it is supplied by a statement about

[1] Hist. Dunelm. Eccl., bk. ii, ch. 11, 12.

[2] There are some good remarks on this subject in Mr Plummer's Introduction to his edition of Bede, vol. I, p. lxiv.

Columba in the Book of Lismore, line 956,[1] 'many then were the churches he marked out and the books he wrote, to wit, 300 churches and 300 books. *Though the book that his hand would write were ever so long under water, not even a single letter therein would be washed out.*' These words, that evidently embody an established popular tradition, really give away the whole situation, and show that any self-respecting codex of the time would lose caste if it did not tumble into the water and emerge triumphant. Hence it is clear that Symeon's story need not be taken in earnest. The condition of almost perfect preservation of the MS. has been held to discredit the tale of the immersion, while the fact that there are stains on one or two folios, e.g. 182 v, 191 v, has been held to justify it, with the (impossible) proviso that the book must have been so cased in metal or wrapped in waterproof skins that only a few drops got in! It is best to ignore the miracle, but we may accept the statement that the sacred codex accompanied the body of St Cuthbert from Lindisfarne and was preserved with it at Durham till the time of Symeon, after which it was returned to the revived establishment at Lindisfarne where the inventories describe it as 'Liber S. Cuthberti qui demersus erat in mare.'

The origin and earlier history of the MS. are attested by an often-quoted colophon or terminal note, which occurs on folio 259 r after the end of the Gospel of St John. It is in a hand of X, and purports to be written by Aldred a priest, who in the Northumbrian dialect of X tells us that he wrote the interlineary Anglo-Saxon glosses which now accompany the text of the MS., and adds other matter of the highest interest. The book, he says, was written by Eadfrith bishop of Lindisfarne (from 698 to 721), was bound and otherwise dealt with by his successor bishop Ethilwald, and by a cunning metal-worker the anchorite Billfrith who is mentioned in the

[1] Ed. Whitley Stokes, Oxford, 1890, p. 176. Cf. also Plummer, *Lives*, I, 211; II, 30; etc.

Durham *Liber Vitæ* in the first half of IX, while Aldred himself 'overglossed it in English.'

The colophon, and a short note of similar purport on f. 88 v, run to nearly 200 words, but much of the matter is personal to Aldred, or is to us of purely secondary import, and it presents difficulties in interpretation, so that attention may in this place be confined to those words which apply to the questions of the date, artistic character, and provenance of the work, with which alone we are concerned. The colophon as a whole is given in facsimile in Fig. 23, and in Fig. 24 will be found the Anglo-Saxon text of the important part of it with an interlinear modern English translation. Comment on this must be reserved till a word has been said on the authority of the colophon as a whole. The general opinion of scholars in this country is expressed in the following words of Sir E. Maunde Thompson in the official British Museum catalogue,[1] repeated in his *English Illuminated Manuscripts*[2] :—'Aldred gives no authority for the tradition which he transmits of the origin of the MS., and it should not be forgotten that he writes as late as the tenth century, more than two hundred years after the death of Eadfrith. Still there is no reason to doubt the general accuracy of his statements, for the MS. was of too great value in the eyes of its possessors for the details of its history to be forgotten though they may perhaps have been magnified.' Dr Bruun the Swedish scholar adds the remark,[3] 'If, at the time when the Northumbrian monk inserted his interlinear version and his note on the origin of the manuscript, the names of the makers had not been known for certain, we may be pretty sure that tradition or legend . . . would not have

[1] *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Part II, Latin, printed by order of the Trustees, London, 1884, p. 17.

[2] London, 1895, p. 5.

[3] *An Inquiry into the Art of the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, by Johan Adolf Bruun, Part I, Celtic Illuminated Manuscripts, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 49.

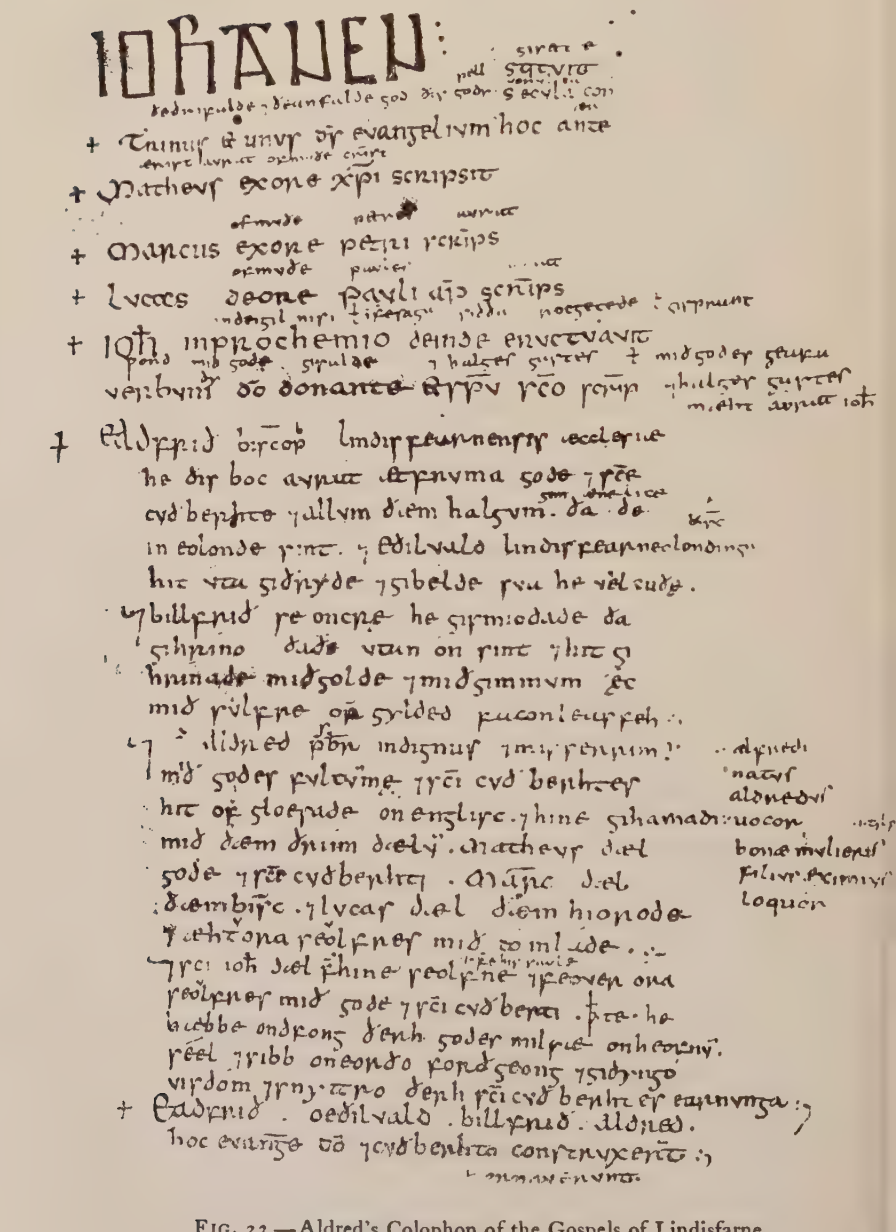


FIG. 23.—Aldred's Colophon of the Gospels of Lindisfarne.

failed to associate the costly relic with a more illustrious name'; and again, 'A loose tradition without real foundation would neither have entered into this series of apparently insignificant details, nor have contented itself with the comparatively obscure names of the bishops Eadfrith and Ethilwald and the anchorite Billfrith.' As a fact however both the accuracy of the information contained in the note and the *bona fides* of the writer have been quite recently called in question. In a paper on 'The Colophon in the Lindisfarne Gospels' in a volume entitled *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913, Professor R. A. S. Macalister has impugned the authority of Aldred's note and with it the accepted date and provenance of the manuscript. Whatever Professor Macalister writes is entitled to respectful consideration but he greatly weakens the effect of his arguments by his attack on Aldred, whom he calls 'this unworthy and wretched person.' Now Aldred seems a very inoffensive being, whose note as a whole, with its personal details, produces a most favourable impression on the reader, and whose neatly written interlinear gloss really does no harm to the manuscript, and indeed on the sumptuous pages with little text is hardly to be noticed. It was a very choice volume, and the fact that Aldred was permitted or enjoined to write the interlinear translation gives authority to the lines he added on the conclusion of his task. They were in a sense an official deliverance, not the aimless scribbling of a trifler. Dr Zimmermann, on p. 113 of his work, suggests that the names thus recorded by Aldred had been inscribed on the now lost cover of the manuscript, or on some other part of it that has not been preserved, and were thus in the strict sense official. Consider what is involved in Professor Macalister's complete repudiation of the colophon. Assuming him to be right, what appears there would be either a dishonest invention on Aldred's part or on that of his superiors, or would embody an existing and to some extent accepted, though wholly base-

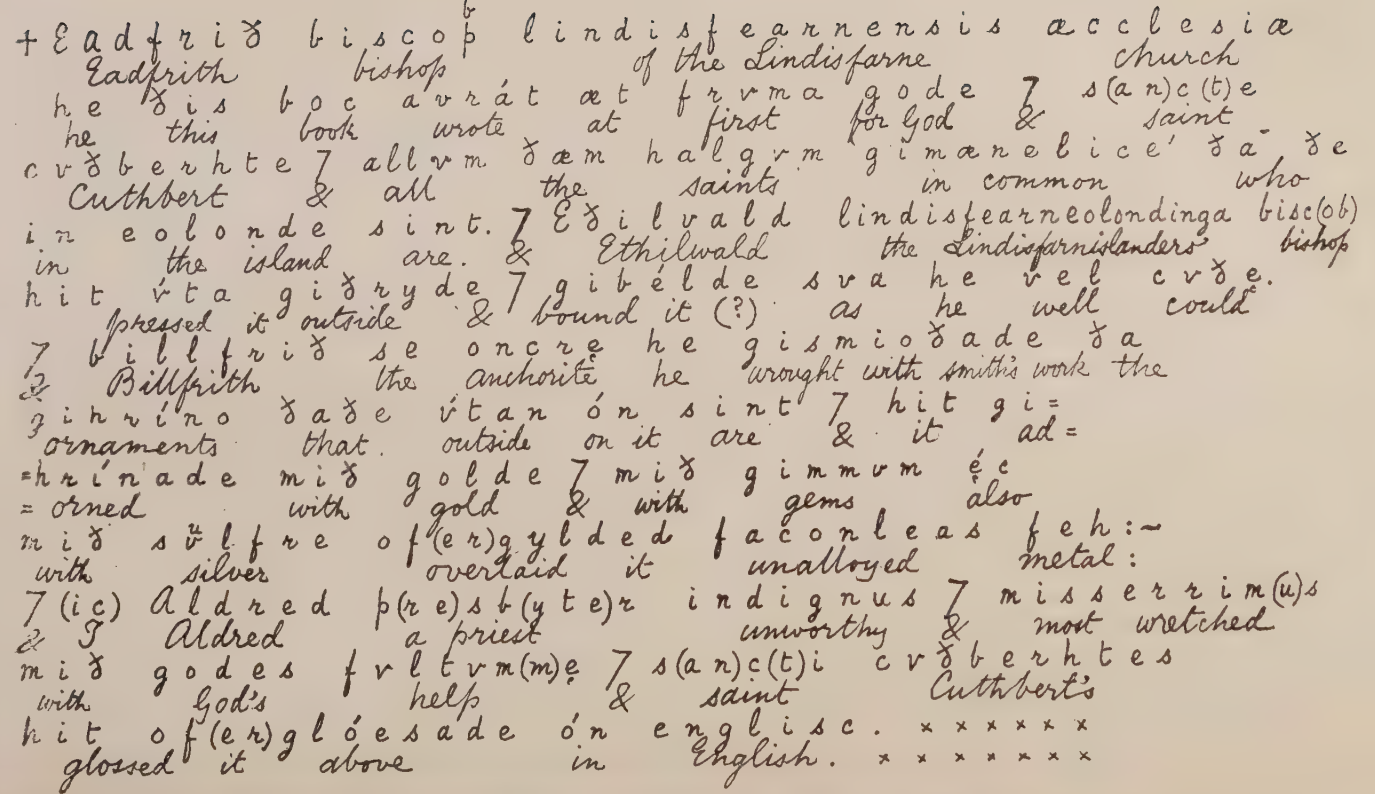

+Eadfriþ biscop lindisfearnensis æcclesiæ
Eadfrith bishop of the Lindisfarne church
he þis boc awrát æt frvma gode 7 s(an)c(t)e
he this book wrote at first for God & saint
cvðberhte 7 allvm þæm halgvm gimænelicē þa þe
Cuthbert & all the saints in common who
in eolonde sint. 7 Ethilvald lindisfearneolondinga bisc(ob)
in the island are. & Ethilwald the Lindisfarnislanders bishop
hit útа giðryde 7 gibéalde sva he vel cvðe.
pressed it outside & bound it (?) as he well could
7 billfriþ se oncre he gismioðade þa
& Billfrith the anchorite he wrought with smith's work the
gihrínо þaðe útan ón sint 7 hit gi=
ornaments that outside on it are & it ad=
=hrínade miþ golde 7 miþ gimmvm ec
=orned with gold & with gems also
miþ sylfre o(er)gylded faconleas feh:~
with silver overlaid it unalloyed metal:
7 (ic) Aldred þ(re)sb(yte)r indignus 7 misserrim(u)s
& I Aldred a priest unworthy & most wretched
miþ godes fvltvm(m)e 7 s(an)c(t)i cvðberhtes
with God's help & saint Cuthbert's
hit o(er)glóesade ón englisc. × × × × × ×
glossed it above in English. × × × × × × ×

FIG. 24.—Facsimile, with translation, of part of Aldred's Colophon.

less, tradition. The first alternative involves an incredible amount of *mala fides* on the part of the scribe and the monastic authorities,[1] but the second is arguable. In support of it Professor Macalister suggests that the manuscript was written in some Irish monastery about 830 A.D., and that at some date between 840 and 890 it came into the possession of the community of St Cuthbert, possibly through capture in some battle, while about 930 Aldred glossed it and wrote the colophon. We should have therefore to assume that in an interval of forty to ninety years the real history of the book had either been forgotten or else generally tabooed, and a wholly supposititious connection of it with St Cuthbert and with early and otherwise obscure bishops of Lindisfarne had obtained credence. This is of course in the nature of things conceivable, but is certainly far less credible than the hypothesis that the tradition embodied in Aldred's note was a genuine one. Aldred's note appears to ring true, and would never be questioned save on the ground that it gives an unacceptable chronology for the manuscript in which it stands. Symeon of Durham [2] tells us about the bishop Ethilwald of the note that he had a stone cross cunningly made and finished of which the head was afterwards broken off by the Danes (p. 103). No one doubts the truth of this, though our informant lived in XII. A X story about the same bishop should be equally credible.

Furthermore, Professor Macalister takes no account of a very remarkable piece of evidence in favour of an early date and a Lindisfarne origin which the manuscript itself enshrines, but which has only recently been brought into notice.

In the *Revue Bénédictine*, published in connection with the Abbey of Maredsous in Belgium, Année VIII, 1891, p. 481 f., Dom Germain Morin printed a paper on the Liturgy

[1] In the note on f. 88 v the writer, Aldred, invokes the benediction of the Almighty on the four who put together and ornamented the book. If these were imaginary people the invocation would be rank blasphemy.

[2] Hist. Dunelm. Eccl., i, 12.

of the Church at Naples in the time of St Gregory on the basis of evidence furnished by two English manuscripts in the British Museum ascribed to VII. Information about these manuscripts had been supplied by the English scholar, Dr Edmund Bishop. One is Cod. Reg. 1, B, VII, and the other is Cott., Nero D. IV, the Gospels of Lindisfarne, and this contains like the other manuscript what Dom Morin calls 'quasi-capitulaires,' or lists of days and circumstances when certain passages were to be read. Among the feast days of saints there figures that of St Januarius, and there is also celebrated the dedication of 'Basilica Stephani.' St Januarius is of course the special saint of Naples, and 'Basilica Stephani' is the recognized ancient appellation of the Neapolitan cathedral. How did these entries find their way into these two English manuscripts? The supposition is that they were copied from a Neapolitan original, and it so happens that we can see without difficulty how a Neapolitan original might have come to form part of the Lindisfarne library. Information primarily derived from Bede teaches us that in the year 668, Adrian, who had been abbot of a monastery in the island of Nisita near Naples, journeyed to England at the bidding of Pope Vitalian, who wanted to make him the English archbishop. That he would bring with him sacred books written in his old home is quite in accordance with likelihood. In company with Archbishop Theodore Adrian afterwards visited Lindisfarne, and he must have presented one of these South Italian Gospel books to the conventual library, where, in Dom Morin's words, 'the Anglo-Saxon copyists set to work to execute from it divers transcripts, of which two at least exist to-day, one of the two being the celebrated Gospels of St Cuthbert.'[1] In this way the curious Neapolitan indications may find a very simple and natural explanation. There are of course suppositions involved, but it may safely be said that

[1] Professor Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script*, Oxford, 1910, p. 2, note, suggests that Eadfrith probably executed the work before the year 698 when he became bishop.

the information imparted by Aldred gains hereby enormously in credit, so that its authenticity may fairly be held established by the chain of evidence just noticed.

The most important item of information imparted by Aldred is contained in the words 'Eadfrith bishop of the church of Lindisfarne he wrote this book,' the word 'wrote' being the normal past tense of the familiar verb 'writan,' to write. Now a quite plausible comment on this would be that Eadfrith may have indited the actual words of the text, but that its artistic embellishment (quite another matter) was probably the work of other hands. To this the answer is easy. No one can turn over the pages of the manuscripts without assuring himself that text and ornament interpenetrate so intimately that they must necessarily be the work of the same hand or hands. In later mediaeval manuscripts of another class there was sometimes a division of labour, and a worker might indite a page of text and then hand it over to an ornamentalist to put in the enriched capitals and borders. Nothing of the kind is possible in the early manuscripts of the Celtic school. Writer and ornamentalist were one, and in Irish and Anglo-Saxon literature the one word 'scribe' is used as the title of the executant. Of a calligraphist named Ultan we are informed that he was 'a blessed priest of the Scotic nation, who could adorn little books with elegant devices. . . . In this art no modern scribe could rival him.' Ultan was a member of this very community of Lindisfarne.[1]

[1] The words are quoted from an Anglo-Saxon poem in Latin of IX published in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.*, Venetiis, 1738, VI, Part ii, 317-35. The poem was dedicated to Egbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, consecrated in 803. Colgan, *Acta SS. Hiberniæ*, Louvain, 1645, I, 109, makes Ultan's 'floruit' about 740 A.D. The original runs as follows :—

'Presbyter iste fuit Scottorum gente beatus,
Comtis qui potuit notis ornare libellos,
Hac arte hinc nullus potuit se aequare modernus Scriptorum.'

In a letter to the writer Sir Edward Sullivan has kindly supplied the information that 'Scriptor' is the only word used in Irish literature for the maker of MSS. whether plain or illuminated.

Whether the single executant, or scribe, of the Durham Book was Eadfrith himself, or some one like Ultan employed by him, is another question that might naturally be raised. It would be rash to maintain that a word like 'fecit,' 'made,' implies always in mediaeval literature the personal agency of the person named, but other distinctive forms of expression were certainly in use when the person named only ordered and paid for the work. King Alfred does not claim to have 'made' but only 'ordered to be made' the well-known inscribed jewel of gold that bears his name, and in the case of the famous Durham stole and maniple of early X, which like the jewel will be fully discussed in a subsequent volume, Queen Ælflaed 'fieri precepit.' We are told of St Columba that he 'marked out' churches but 'wrote' books and of 'the Gospel which his own hand had written.'[1] He was transcribing a psalter almost on the last day of his life.[2] Gildas wrote a missal book. Hence in the case before us there is strong internal evidence that when Aldred used the word 'wrote' he meant that Eadfrith was the actual executant. He goes on in his note to say that Ethilwald the next bishop bound the book and adds the important words 'as he well could,' clearly implying that he put his own episcopal hands to the task, and this undoubtedly reflects back a presumption of personal knowledge and skill on the part of his predecessor. The words used of Ethilwald's operations are 'giðryde 7 gibelde sva he vel cuðe.' Of these the first is the past tense of the verb 'geðrythan' which means to 'press,' 'make firm,' while the second verb 'gibelde' is obscure, but may carry out and extend the sense of the former verb. It probably is connected with the same root as the German 'bilden' 'to form,' and it certainly does not mean (as might be hastily surmised) 'embellished,' so that Ethilwald was not the illuminator. The last four Anglo-Saxon words in the above quotation were

[1] *Book of Lismore*, Ed. Whitley Stokes, Oxford, 1890, pp. 176, 177.

[2] Adamnan, *Life of Columba*, iii, 23.

unfortunately translated by Professor Skeat 'as well as he could'—words which, though they may be interpreted 'with all his power,' to modern ears might rather suggest the bungling efforts of a prentice hand![1] No doubt the work of Ethilwald and Billfrith was as good of its kind as the ornament on the pages, but, alas, these jewelled covers had disappeared before the manuscript reached the hands of Sir Robert Cotton. Furthermore, at the end of the colophon, Fig. 24, Aldred repeats the names of the four who were responsible for the work, and no fifth name of a possible illuminator is even hinted at.

If all this evidence undoubtedly of a cogent character be credited, we have it established that within about a decade or so of the date proposed for the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses an artistic work of the very first order was produced in a Northumbrian monastery, and the hands that wrought it were those of an Anglian ecclesiastical craftsman. In Eadfrith the Anglo-Saxon race produced an artist who in matters of design and execution is fully equal to the most accomplished masters in manuscript decoration of whom there is record. In so far as the style of the piece is Celtic rather than Anglo-Saxon it may be called in Northumbria an exotic style, though we must remember that it had presumably been taught and practised at Lindisfarne for more than half a century, so that in this particular district it may almost be regarded as vernacular. The analysis of the codex from the artistic point of view that will presently be undertaken will bring to light qualities in the design that are certainly more English than Irish, and which distinguish the work from its great Hibernian rival the Book of Kells.

A synopsis of the literary contents of the codex is given

[1] In the more recent official publication, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, printed by order of the Trustees, London, 1903, Sir George Warner gives the obviously preferable translation 'as well he could.'

in the *Catalogue of Ancient MSS.* referred to in a note (p. 335). These contents are the Four Gospels according to the version of St Jerome; with the Eusebian Canons, the Epistle of Jerome to Damasus, and that of Eusebius to Carpianus, prefixed to the whole work; and preliminary matter, 'capitula lectionum,' 'argumenta,' etc., coming before each gospel. In the official synopsis however no account is taken of the decoration, so that a reasonably full description appears to be called for.

The codex proper consists in 258 leaves of stout vellum measuring $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{7}{8}$ in., and has not suffered the unfortunate fate of the Book of Kells of which all the folios have been cut down by a modern binder, while nearly thirty have been lost. At each end is an additional leaf of vellum of more modern date on the recto of the first of which there is an elenchus of the contents of the volume. This has led to an unfortunate variation in numbering. Each of the original folios was, probably in XVII, numbered in brown ink 1 to 258, but a later enumeration in pencil takes in the first additional leaf so that f. 1 becomes f. 2 and f. 258 becomes 259. On this reckoning however this leaf is not the last, for surely the additional folio at the end should be numbered if its fellow leaf at the beginning is taken in. The older accounts such as the *Catalogue* of 1884 and Sir George Warner's book of 1903 ignore these additions and make f. 258 the last. Dr Zimmermann however takes the pencilled numbers, and gives the total as 259, which as just noted must in any case be wrong, as the whole number is now 260. In what follows the more recent, now the official, enumeration has been used. The codex is in all essentials quite complete, though there are spaces on some of the sumptuous pages that have not been filled in, and the preservation is extremely good, much better than that of Kells, for only one or two folios, on none of which is there much decoration, show partial marks of staining, and no leaf is to any serious extent rubbed. The writing, in double columns

of 24 lines, is ' in very beautifully-formed half-uncial letters of a massive type, with occasional use of capitals,' and the ink, of a rich black inclining to purple brown, must have been of

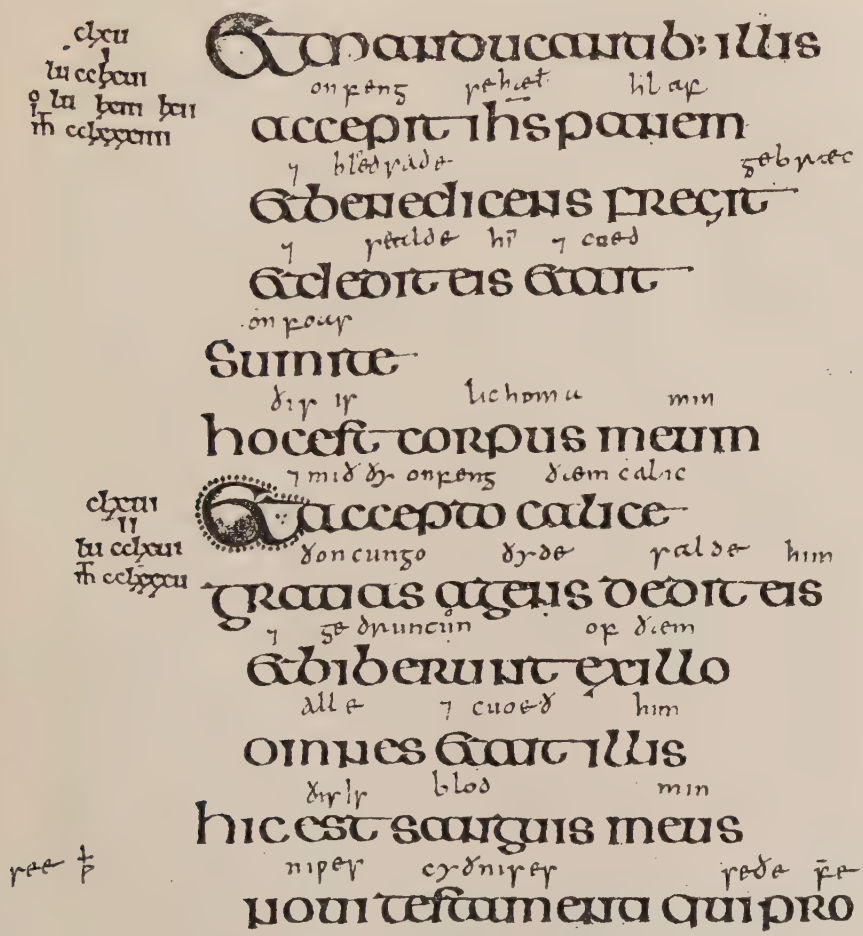


Fig. 25.—Portion of text of the Gospels of Lindisfarne, natural size.

superb quality for twelve hundred years of use and exposure have not marred its freshness. Above there is given of the full size, Fig. 25, a portion from the Gospel of St Mark which shows the style in which is written the text of the Gospels

and that of the additional and preliminary matter, covering in all some 470 pages out of the total of 516 arrived at by reckoning the two sides of each folio. This shows that the codex is not, in words used of certain manuscripts, 'one blaze of illumination from end to end.' The ornamentation of about 90 per cent. of the pages is of the modest kind here shown, where small capitals are used to mark—not the chapters and verses—but certain divisions of the text numbered in brown ink and in red at the side of each of the two columns of writing on the page. The loops of these small capitals are filled in with flat tints of yellow and of blue and the dots round the 'Et' of 'Et accepto calice' are red. The additional matter in the form of the preliminary letters, arguments, tables of festivals, capitula, etc., making sixteen articles in all, is embellished with the same number of larger initial letters followed by a word or two in fanciful majuscules. A specimen of the full size is shown Fig. 26, from the beginning of the Preface of St Jerome. The specimens of the text thus shown will enable the reader to judge of the effect of the interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss added by Aldred, which is of course more in evidence on these pages than on the elaborately adorned folios where there is very little to read. It has already been pointed out that these last consist partly in compositions in which a few words in fancy lettering are embellished with all the resources of the ornamentalist, and partly in pages of pure decoration without any lettering at all. Of the former there are six and of the latter five. The so-called Eusebian Canons occupy sixteen ornamented pages displaying much excellence and care in design joined with a certain severity, see Pl. xxxv, and finally there is a full-page picture of each of the four Evangelists. Seven of the pages are blank.

On the present system of numeration the first page of the ancient codex is f. 2 r and is blank. On turning this the eye is taken by a full page of ornament, 2 v, confronted with 3 r on which are displayed in large ornamental characters headed

by a fine initial N the first dozen or so of words of the Epistle of Jerome to Damasus. In the manuscript as a whole there

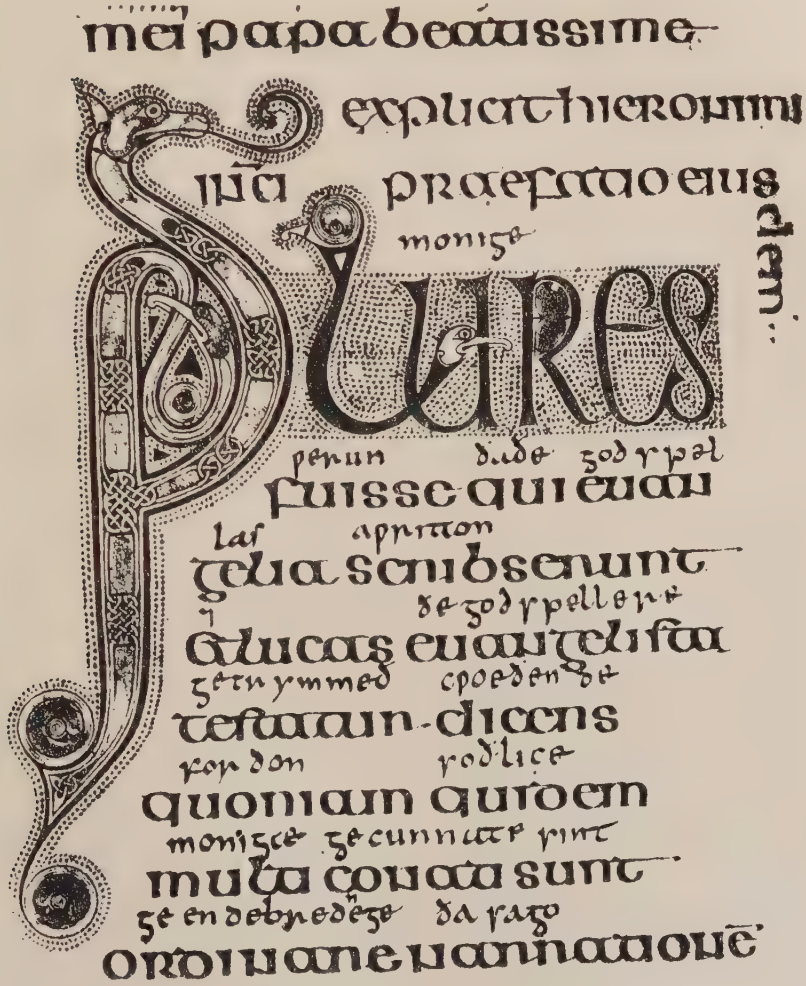
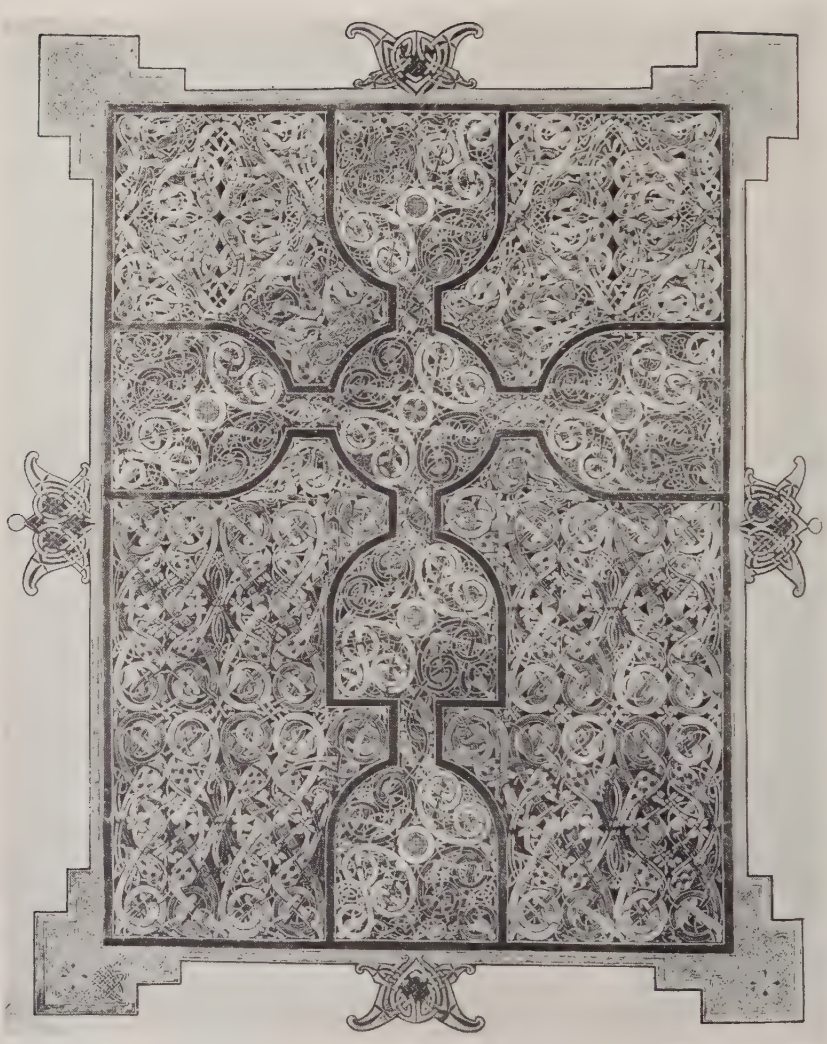


Fig. 26.—Portion of text, with minor initial.

are five places where we find this juxtaposition of the two enriched pages, the others being numbered 26 v and 27 r, 94 v and 95 r, 138 v and 139 r, 210 v and 211 r. In the case of some of these pairs, notably 26 v 27 r, 138 v 139 r,

210 v 211 r, there is a marked correspondence in the general colour effect, and that this was intended by the artist may be held proved by the fact that a similar correspondence is observable in most of the pages of the Eusebian Canons, where the two that face each other have certain forms repeated in opposition after the fashion here shown E ∃. In the pairs above noted the dexter page is always pure ornament, the main motive of the design being a cross in one of the decorative forms that have been shown previously to be of specially Teutonic tradition (p. 97), while the lavish enrichment executed with a precision and delicacy that to quote a writer of XII [1] suggest the skill rather of angels than of men, is distributed in panels and in background fillings over the whole surface of the page. Opposite these pages of pure ornament, on the sinister page, or recto, the chief feature is formed by one or perhaps two or three initial letters of a word that is continued in large fancy letters and followed by two or three other words similarly displayed. The initials may occupy about the upper and dexter half of the page if we suppose it bisected by the diagonal. The same kinds of ornament are used on these great letters as on the pages of pure enrichment, but whereas on the latter the spaces are of regular shapes on the letters they take all sorts of out-of-the-way forms, and it gives a new delight to the observant eye when it is seen with what tact the different ornamental motives are accommodated to the irregular contours they have to follow. A notable feature on these enriched text-pages is the decorative use of small red dots outlining the large letters or disposed in panels to form a sort of diaper background for the characters. The general effect from the point of view of design of two such opposed pages may be seen in Pl. xxxii giving 26 v and 27 r on which last are the words 'Liber generationis Ihū Xp̄i filii David philii Abraham' from the beginning of St Matthew. The close correspondence in the decorative effect of the

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica*, ii, 38.



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TWO FACING PAGES FROM T

XXII

OSPELS OF LINDISFARNE, ff. 26v, 27r

colouring on the two pages, already referred to, it is hoped the reader will take on trust.

To resume the detailed analysis, after 3 r which begins the Epistle of Jerome there is preliminary matter which ends with 9 r, the beginning of each article being signalized by illuminated lettering after the style shown in Fig. 26. 9 v is blank and on 10 r begin the Eusebian Canons that end after sixteen illuminated pages on the verso of f. 17. They consist in columns of figures indicating parallel passages in the Gospels framed between slender upright piers joined at the top by round arches. On some pages there are four of these columns of figures on others three, but the whole are always enclosed in a single round arch within the tympanum of which there is lettering. The upright piers, their bases and capitals, treated much more architecturally than similar details in the Book of Kells, and the enclosing round arch, are gracefully adorned, and both as regards the arrangement and the colouring of the motives there is evidence that the artist considered sometimes each page singly and sometimes the two facing pages together in each case as a whole, distributing motives and colours in accordance with the principles of opposition and balance. For a reason that will be explained in the sequel, the sixteen Canon pages are not arranged in eight pairs, but the first is on a recto, 10 r, facing the blank page 9 v, and there follow seven pairs, with the last Canon page on the verso of 17, the next, 18 r, being a blank. From 18 v to 24 v there is again preliminary matter treated as before.

On 25 v we have the first of a series of four full-page pictures of the Evangelists that form an interesting feature of the codex. In each case the Evangelist is seated and has above him a representation of his conventional symbol. Matthew is writing in a book that he holds upon his knee and from behind a curtain opposite to him peers forth a nimbed head with close curling grey hair, moustache, and beard, but save a hand holding a book nothing more of the figure is visible.

Opinions differ whether this represents one of the persons of the Trinity, or is merely a reduplication of the human figure, which is the symbol of the Evangelist. Mr Herbert [1] takes the latter view, but the fact that there is a note at the end of the volume ' Matheus ex ore X$\bar{p}$i scripsit,' embodying a tradition that Matthew's Gospel was directly inspired by Christ, makes it more likely that, in spite of the grey hair, we must see here the second person of the Trinity, or rather, perhaps, only a general representation of the Godhead.[2] The note occurs in an inscription of six Latin lines between the end of John's Gospel and Aldred's Anglo-Saxon colophon which immediately follows. Aldred has glossed the six Latin lines but the ink and other indications seem to show that Aldred first wrote them in the Latin. Whether he composed the lines or copied them from an earlier source is a different question altogether. The six lines are shown in facsimile in Fig. 23 (p. 336). After ' Matheus ex ore X$\bar{p}$i scripsit ' comes ' Marcus ex ore Petri scripsit,' ' Lucas de ore Pauli $\bar{a}$p. scripsit,' and then a significant entry relating to John—' J$\bar{o}$h in prochemio deinde eructuavit verbum d$\bar{o}$ donante & sp$\bar{u}$ $\bar{s}\bar{c}$o,' ' John subsequently uttered in his prologue the word which God and the Holy Spirit gave him.' Matthew and John are given on the double plate, Pl. xxxiii. ' Prochemio ' is a mistake for ' prooemio.' Now Matthew Mark and Luke are each writing, Mark on a tablet framed and hence apparently waxed (though he holds a pen and not a stylus) that is supported on a desk or table by his side, Luke on a scroll that lies across his knees, and are in each case recording the message they have received, but John's attitude is quite different and corresponds with the note that follows his name as quoted above. He sits full face towards the spectator while the

[1] *Illuminated Manuscripts*, by J. A. Herbert, Lond., 1911, p. 75 note.

[2] Zimmermann, *Vor-Karolingische Miniaturen*, says in one place, p. 113, that the head is that of Gregory, and in another, p. 265, he identifies it with St Jerome !

other figures are seen in profile or three-quarter view, and is not writing though the scroll is held ready by his left hand on his lap. His intentness of expression and the gesture of his hand suggest one on whom the divine afflatus has just fallen and who is still receptive though prepared for the utterance and the records of his message. Though it is on a very different grade of art, there is something in this figure of John that reminds us distantly of Michelangelo's stupendous creation, the Isaiah of the Sistine Chapel. There seems at any rate no doubt that there is a distinct connection between these notes in the colophon and the representations of the four Evangelists, and it seems more likely that Aldred was copying the lines from some earlier source than that he was expressing an aesthetic criticism on the pictures. The early form of the contraction for ET (see Fig. 15, ϵϵ, 10) is an additional reason for believing this.

Going back now to Matthew we notice that in his case as in those of the other Evangelists, the portrait is on a verso and is faced by a blank page in the recto of the next folio. Turning over this blank page 26 r we find the verso of it occupied with one of the most beautiful of the pages of pure ornament, 26 v, and facing this, on 27 r, the great 'Liber Generationis' page already referred to, see Pl. xxxii. The text of the genealogy with which Matthew opens continues to 28 r the other side of which is blank, and then on 29 r is another very finely decorated text page, perhaps the most elaborate of all, with 'Xpi autem generatio sic erat,' etc., representing the actual beginning of the Gospel narrative. 29 v to 89 v are devoted to the text of Matthew, and 90 r to 93 r contain the preliminary matter to Mark. Mark's picture is on the verso of 93 and 94 r is blank. 94 v and 95 r exhibit another pair of sumptuous pages which do not show quite the same unity of effect as some of the other pairs, but 95 r is a really magnificent piece of decoration worthy of its reproduction with its fellow page on Pl. xxxiv. The text of

Mark reaches to the first column of f. 130 r and in the second column of the same page begins the preliminary matter to Luke. On 137 r we read 'expliciunt capitula secundum Lucam,' and Luke himself materializes on 137 v, following which is the usual blank page.

Ff. 138 v and 139 r form a pair in which the latter page is perhaps the most successful in the whole manuscript. It is known as the 'Quoniam quidem' page and gives part of the first verse of St Luke down to 'declaration.' The decorative motives employed are so characteristic of the style that it has been chosen for special treatment and with its fellow page is shown as a whole as a preliminary on Pl. xxxvi (p. 362). Portions will be analysed more minutely later on. 138 v the page of pure ornament is not so successful and seems in comparison a little dry and hard. 139 v begins the plain text of Luke with an ornamental 'Fuit in diebus,' and this ends on f. 203 r, on the verso of which begins the preliminary matter to St John. The portrait of the Apostle occupies the verso of 209 followed by the blank page 210 r. 210 v and 211 r form the last of the five sets of pairs, the correspondence here from the decorative point of view being particularly close. The page of pure ornament, 210 v, is one of the best. The plain text of John, begun decoratively on another magnificent page, is continued on the verso of the same folio 211, and the end of the text is reached at the top of the second column on f. 259. After the words forming the main colophon, displayed in 'large and fanciful slender capitals,' EXPLICIT LIBER SECUNDUM JOHANEN there follow the Latin lines in small handwriting each preceded by a simple cross, with statements about the Evangelists on the purport of which something has just been said. Aldred's Anglo-Saxon colophon occupies the rest of the page, of which the portion here referred to was given in Fig. 23.

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THE EVANGELISTS MATTHEW AND JOHN F

NOTE.—*In the original these two Evangelists are not on facing pages,*

XXXIII

THE GOSPELS OF LINDISFARNE, ff. 25 v, 209 v

e case with the other double plates from the MS., XXXII, XXXIV, XXXVI

CHAPTER XV

THE GOSPELS OF LINDISFARNE: A DETAILED ANALYSIS

Following this summary description of the codex a more intimate analysis of the decoration will here be in place, and a third and final section of the discussion will contain whatever can be usefully said in the space available on the obscure question of the provenance and early history of the ornamental motives.

The analysis will be carried out under the following subheadings: (1) General Design, (2) Motives and their Distribution, (3) Colour Effect, (4) Pigments, (5) Technique.

(1) General Design. That qualities which may be called classical are here in evidence has already been indicated (p. 331 f.) as a principle applying to the work as a whole. Dr Zimmermann has called attention to a characteristic of Lindisfarne in which he sees a difference between it and Kells. In Kells he maintains, p. 115, even on pages where there are various bordered surfaces of ornament placed in juxtaposition, these all lie in the same plane, thus carrying out the principle of Celtic art—a flat treatment ignoring almost entirely the third dimension of space, 'whereas the Lindisfarne Gospel book very distinctly distinguishes two planes: one a ground plane uniform all over in its ornament, and over this laid a second which consists in separate panels of enrichment.' This opinion has to be taken with some reserve. The general flatness in Kells is of course obvious, but folios 27 v, 33 r, 129 v, 290 v, etc., suggest the idea of encrustation. In the Lindisfarne ornament pages, such as 26 v, Pl. xxxii; 2 v; 138 v, Pl. xxxvi, the crosses or panels of various shapes present

distinct surfaces cut out and apparently encrusted on the background. In 26 v in the centres of the midmost circle of the cross and of each of the expanded ends there is a small round that suggests the ornamental head of a rivet and carries out this idea. Though the same motives both fill the cross and cover the ground outside they are on different scales, and it is a fact moreover that the ground of the cross is a comparatively light purple while the ornaments in the outer spaces are relieved against dark purple black, and this distinguishes the cross from its setting. At the same time this distinction is not logically carried out, for the background is not *diapered*, that is treated independently of what comes afterwards to be laid upon it, but the ornament *merely fills in between the panels*, and does not go underneath them, so as fully to carry out the idea of the two planes.

Apart from this general vein of what may be called classical feeling, there are certain parts of the MS. that must be singled out as inspired directly by late classical models from Italy or the Hellenized East. This applies primarily to the portraits of the four Evangelists but also to the framing of the Eusebian Canons. The figure work in the whole class of MSS. to which our codex belongs, like that on the crosses, is an outcome of antique tradition, but the figures in the Lindisfarne codex are beyond all comparison better than those, for example, in the Book of Kells, and are in effect the best of all in the various 'Celtic' manuscripts. Matthew and John, Pl. xxxiii, are good examples. The hands and feet are quite excellently rendered[1] and the features very fairly successful. The drawing of the folds of the curtain of the Matthew picture is better than that of the drapery on the Evangelist himself, where conventional lines as of branches from a stem are made to do duty for the contours of folds. In all the portraits the symbols are better drawn than the principal figures, and the

[1] 'Die ebenso sichere wie delikate Zeichnung,' are the words Dr Zimmermann applies to this part of the work, p. 114.

perspective of the seats of Matthew and John and the footstool of Mark is atrocious. This is however just what we should expect. In imperfect art animals are always better done than men, and the perspective is no worse than we find it in some of the most attractive Pompeian paintings. The fact that it *is* perspective at all is significant of what we have termed classical feeling. On the whole they are good copies from late classical models and the only things barbaric about them are the ornaments at the corners of the border. On their probable provenance see (p. 396).

The general design of the Eusebian Canons with the arches and the bases and capitals of the slender piers is of course purely classical, and the whole treatment illustrates what is one of the outstanding characteristics of the piece as a whole. This is its severity and reserve in which it contrasts with its rival in artistic excellence the Book of Kells. The simplicity of the text has been already noticed. Unsurpassed as script [1] it cannot compare with the Irish MS. in the matter of minor capitals. The very restrained usage of the Durham Book illustrated in Fig. 25 (p. 345) contrasts with the lavish profusion of that of Kells, where, in the words of Sir Edward Sullivan,[2] 'every verse of every chapter in the four Gospels commences with one of . . . the smaller illuminated initials' of which the 'infinite variety shows an artistic originality of a perfectly bewildering nature.' The treatment of the Eusebian Canons shows a similar difference. In Durham the tympana within the enclosing arches exhibit only the large

[1] On this Sir E. Maunde Thompson writes, 'This very beautiful hand leaves nothing to be desired in the precision and grace with which it is executed, and the MS. fairly rivals the great Irish codices of the same period . . . at the same time a difference is discernible between the two MSS., which seems to indicate the difference in country of origin. The letters of the Lindisfarne Gospels, besides being of a more solid type, are rather broader and the curves are even more symmetrically drawn than in the Book of Kells.'—*Introduction*, etc., p. 385.

[2] *The Book of Kells*, 'The Studio,' London, 1914, p. 33.

thin capitals, already spoken of, in different colours, red, purple, or green. In Kells these spaces are in most cases filled with elaborate decorative schemes introducing fanciful presentations of the evangelistic symbols, while the spandrels above the main arch also have their ornamental fillings. The pages with the large enriched initials and borders are more numerous, and the portraits of the Evangelists are not treated in the simple pictorial fashion of Pl. xxxiii but are made the occasion for a display of ornamental details of the most extraordinary kind. The motives throughout Kells, as we shall see later on, are more numerous, and the figure work much more abundant. In the matter of quality of work though, as will be apparent in the illustrations that follow, the Lindisfarne artist is in his own way unsurpassable, there are pages in Kells, such as the ' Monogram ' page, f. 34 r, that in complexity and delicate execution may be said to go beyond any similar specimen of human workmanship and to justify the remark quoted above (p. 348) from Giraldus Cambrensis. The difference between the two MSS. is not unlike that between the Gothic façades of Notre Dame in Paris, and of Reims. The one is severely rectangular with the plainness of the Lindisfarne MS., that is however the setting for exquisite gems of refined and clearly cut ornament; the other carries to an extreme the exuberance and variety of Gothic detail, that could not be more lavishly displayed without passing the all-important border line, beyond which structure is ignored and enrichment for the mere sake of richness throws a lace-like veil of ornament over every surface alike. Reims in one feature, the ' pignons ' over the great doorways of the façade, does in effect overstep this line, and Kells in its own way is sometimes also in excess.

As a matter of general design it is not difficult to see why in Lindisfarne the obvious arrangement of the sixteen pages of the Canons in eight pairs was changed for one of seven pairs with an odd page at each end. The fact that in some

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TWO FACING PAGES FROM

XXIV

OSPELS OF LINDISFARNE, ff. 94 v, 95 r

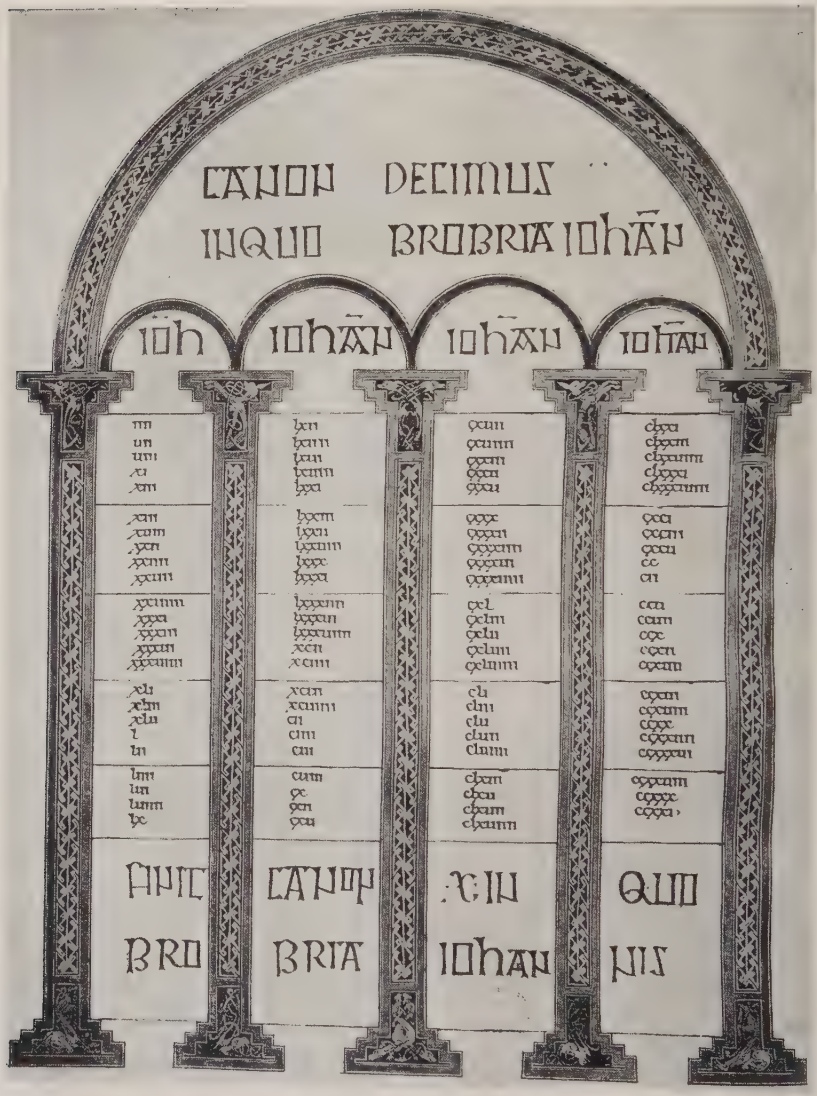


PLATE XXXV

PAGE FROM THE EUSEBIAN CANONS, GOSPELS OF LINDISFARNE, f. 17 v

Canons there are four columns in others three is no doubt the cause. Of the sixteen pages Nos. 1, 2, 3 are four-column pages, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 are three-column pages, and the other seven again four-column pages. Hence we obtain a series of pairs 2, 3; 4, 5; 6, 7; 8, 9; 10, 11; 12, 13; 14, 15, with the number of columns corresponding in each pair, and leave Nos. 1 and 16 over. If 1 and 2 had been arranged to face each other then 3, a four-columned page, would face the three-columned page No. 4, and there would be the same difficulty with 9 and 10. As a fact, in practice the carefully designed arrangement just indicated was upset by what seems a curious oversight, in that page 9, inscribed as a three-columned page, CANON QUARTUS IN QUO TRES, is actually drawn out with *four* columns though only three are used for the tables of the reference numbers. The possible significance of this may presently have a word.

Examining the actual pairs from the points of view of opposition and balance one may define the character of the work by referring to Greek vase decoration when in the early historical period the oriental style of design was giving place to that inspired by Hellenic feeling. In the former, monotonous processions of animals following each other all round the vase are repeated in parallel bands, whereas the tendency of the Greek designer was from the first towards a type of composition in which forms balance each other on the two sides of a centre. As a single page f. 17 v, the last Canon, serves as an example, Pl. xxxv. Here the margins of the slender piers with their step-like bases and caps and of the enclosing arch are blue, the inner spaces where the linear patterns are seen are grounded with red and the noteworthy diagonal pattern is left white. In the inner spaces of the bases and caps on a black ground there are drawn convoluted animals painted red and blue. Note how they balance on each side of the centre. The central base and cap have each two creatures, red above and blue below, their heads turned outwards, while on each

side there is a correspondence or rather opposition in forms and colours that can be seen at a glance in the illustration. In the case of the various pairs there is obvious the general intention of treating the two pages as a whole but it is not always carried out in detail. Conformity is specially in evidence in the borders to the piers and arches and the colour of the small arches under the large one. The colours here used are red, blue, yellow, and purple, and the two colours chosen in each case for the borders and for the small arches are used in the same way on both the pages of the pair. The fillings of the bases, caps, and upright panels of the piers always correspond. The motives are birds, convoluted quadrupeds, interlacings, and oblong panels bordered by narrow bands that form interlacings between each panel and its neighbour. When the large arch is filled in with birds or quadrupeds these start on each side at the bottom with heads uppermost and at the top the two lines meet and the heads cross to make a kind of centre ornament. On the four-column pages the two extreme pairs of piers are treated to correspond and the centre one of the five is treated independently but very often with relation to the centre pier on the other or opposite page. Ff. 16 v and 17 r furnish an example. The long panels and the arch are here filled in with convoluted quadrupeds coloured red and blue, the arrangement of the two colours contrasting on the two pages. Ff. 11 v and 12 r, three-column pages, have fillings of plaited bands coloured in alternating square patches of red and yellow, the bases and caps being filled with spirited convoluted quadrupeds. The heads of these sixteen creatures are disposed according to a general scheme for the two plates, but one of the heads is turned the wrong way. The beasts are coloured blue and red, and care is taken that a red patch on the plait shall not impinge on a red beast but on a blue, the yellow and the red coming in the same way together. The plaits however on the two pages do not exactly correspond but the patches of colour on them number on 12 r fifteen on

11 v fourteen. This is however necessary in view of the colours of the beasts on which at each end they have to impinge.

In a general way it may be said that considerable care has been taken to carry out in these designs the classical principle noticed above, but the work is not that of a calculating machine but of the human brain and hand that are quite fallible and capable of oversights and errors. The mistake on 14 r of four columns instead of three may be explained if we assume that the drawing out of the outlines of the scheme of the Canons on the sixteen pages was the work of an assistant. Eadfrith was the artist just as Michelangelo was the artist of the decoration of the Sistine roof, but no one supposes that the Florentine schemed in perspective and drew out with his own hand the lines of the mouldings on his feigned architecture, and in the same way the ruling out of the outlines of the Canon designs may equally well have been handed over to a competent worker in the Lindisfarne scriptorium. In the ornamental filling there is so much life and such delicate execution that it must have been the work of a very skilful hand. The unmechanical nature of the work is often apparent on a close examination where the sizes of objects in a series will be found to vary slightly as if marked out by the eye rather than with the compasses. Thus on f. 2 v, the first page of full ornament in the MS., the border of the rectangular design is filled in with a series of recumbent birds of which the arrangement is not determined by exact measurement for they differ in length by nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ in. The slight irregularities of this kind give a life and interest to the work and may be compared in this respect to the variations from exact proportions and symmetry observable in Greek sculpture. In places however where even a slight variation might tend to dislocate a large composition due accuracy is maintained.

This is the case with the large pages of pure ornament that form so marked a feature of the codex. They are planned and

carried out with the utmost care and the composition is firmly knit. The spacing out of the panels is nicely ordered so that the intervals between them are of equal width throughout the page. This has regard to the setting out of the often elaborate patterns that occupy the background between them. The quality of severity is in one or perhaps two of the five examples, 138 v (Pl. xxxvi) and 2 v, carried to an extreme and the rectangular forms are a little hard in effect. It should be noted however that these pages are not bounded by the straight edges of the rectangle but have ornamental devices projecting at the corners and central points of the four sides, which afford the same relief as the acroteria on the Greek temples afford to the severe lines of the pediment. The desire to avoid too sharp a contrast led to an interesting refinement in design in the central part of the ornament page 94 v, Pl. xxxiv. In the midmost step-shaped panel all the angles are right angles, but the fellow panels above below and to the sides, partly cut off by the circular rim, exhibit the peculiarity that the lines nearest this rim are set a little obliquely so that they correspond in direction to the curve of the border. The artist evidently felt that the contrast would be too sharp between the right angles and the circle, and in this way softened the transition. This is a fine touch and bears out what is here maintained about the character of the whole work. Whatever may be alleged against the Book of Kells, here in Lindisfarne we find a spirit in the design that certainly cannot be described as mere feckless prodigality. In 210 v the sharp decision of the encrusted panels is relieved against intermediate spaces filled with the flowing curved forms of birds, and in 94 v (Pl. xxxiv) there is a very just balance of contrasted shapes. In 26 v (Pl. xxxii) finally the curved forms prevail so exclusively that the piece suggests another criticism which applies in a measure to the decoration of the codex as a whole. The reference is to a certain look of sameness due to the reappearance on folio after folio of motives with which

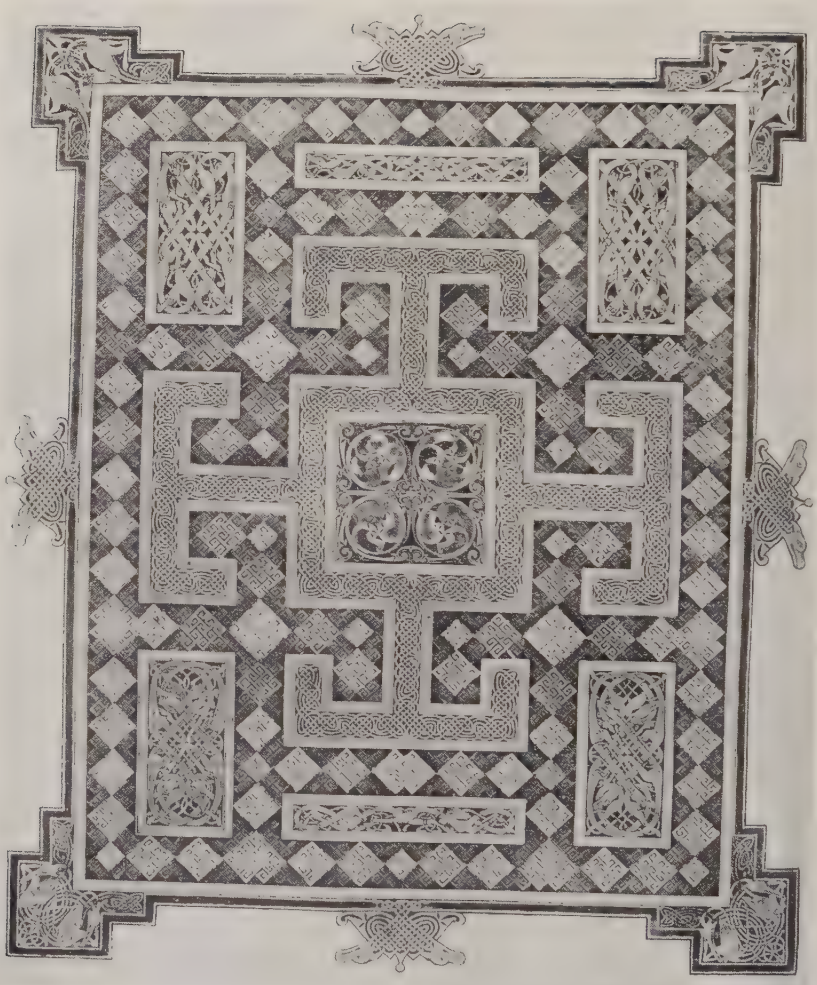
we become somewhat too familiar. In this Lindisfarne differs markedly from Kells in which the variety in motives is much greater, but on the other hand in Kells this variety is perhaps overdone and the advantage in repose and dignity is gained by the more limited repertory of the Northumbrian manuscript.

In this respect the six pages of sumptuous initial letters and words may be judged to exhibit a balance of qualities that gives them the first place among all the works of the school. They are more restrained than the corresponding pages in Kells but freer and more varied in their motives than the pages of pure ornament by which five of them are faced. In one important respect they have an undoubted advantage over the Irish manuscript in that the words in them are plainly legible, whereas in Kells the letters are sometimes so disguised that experts differ as to whether they are present or not. Ornament was never meant to obscure the lettering on a page but to expose it enhanced in dignity by its artistic setting, and the Lindisfarne artist exactly fulfils the conditions of his task. The letters he employs are of the fanciful type specimens of which were given, Fig. 15 (p. 176), but there is no real difficulty in identifying them, and the eye passes satisfied from these showy characters to the ' very clerkly writ ' half-uncials of the succeeding pages of text. In the case of the actual initial letters in some cases as long as the page, their contour is as a rule clear enough and the ornament, of extraordinary merit in distribution and in drawing, is in most instances confined within the outlines, or if, as in 29 r, it invades the background, or fills in the loops of the letters, no confusion in effect is thereby entailed.

On the first of these pages, 3 r, the opening of Jerome's Epistle, the enrichment is comparatively simple, but the five which open the Gospels and Matthew's Genealogy have besides the initials and fillings something in the form of a

border that balances the rich work in the top dexter corner, and completes the compositions of the pages which need the borders to give them the due compactness. Dr Zimmermann calls attention to the nice judgment which on the opening pages of St Luke and St John, ff. 139 r, Pl. xxxvi, and 211 r, provided a break in the border at the lower sinister corner to avoid a too rigid outline.

(2) Motives. These are, we have seen already (p. 360), in number so limited that on this ground some might bring against the whole work a charge of sameness. He would be a bold writer who attempted to give a list of the ornamental motives in the Book of Kells, while those used by the Lindisfarne scribe make up a repertory of manageable size. To begin with, the human figure in whole or in part is in Kells very freely used as an ornamental motive and occurs also in several illustrative pictures as well as in portraits of the Evangelists, whereas in Lindisfarne, putting apart these last which hardly come under the head of ornament, we never find the human figure and only once the human head introduced into the scheme of enrichment—a small profile head ending the C of PRINCIPIO in f. 211 r, the beginning of St John. Foliage is a motive used in Kells though less frequently than the human figure, and we find it in the forms of conventional scrolls with birds introduced, ff. 2 r, 8 r, 19 v; tufts and sprays similarly conventionalized, ff. 114 r, 32 v, etc.; rosettes, f. 290 v; and also in that of little sprays of naturalistic leaves and blossoms, delightfully delicate and attractive. Nothing in these kinds occurs in Lindisfarne. Animals as motives are of course common in both MSS. but there are characteristic differences to be noted. Animals treated quite naturalistically, and in a pictorial not a decorative spirit, occur in Kells, e.g. a moth, cats and mice, and an otter with fish in mouth on f. 34 r, but never in Lindisfarne where a conventional treatment is universal. The most natural creature that can be found is probably the little greyhound,



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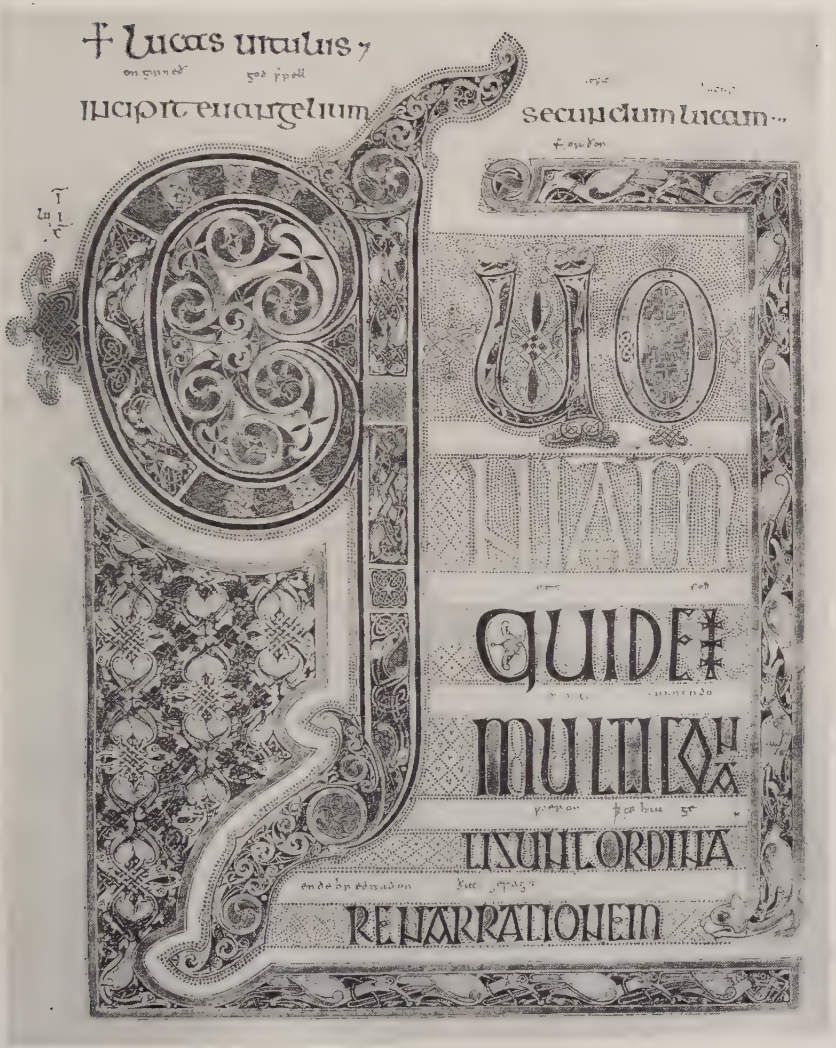

XXVI

OSPELS OF LINDISFARNE, ff. 138 v, 139 r

PLATE XXXVII

THE 'RACING WHIPPET,' f. 8 r, WITH CONVOLUTED DOGS from f. 211 r

ENLARGED

or, rather, racing whippet (still a great pet among Northumbrian miners) in the central stroke of the E of 'Eusebius' on 8 r, Pl. xxxvii, 1, but he is posed distinctly for fitting into a prescribed space. Throughout, the treatment of animals shows a recognition of anatomical structure and a delight in characteristic details that agree with the tone of restraint and consistency which rules the artistic work in the codex, and is in contrast with the looser more varied and more complex drawing in Kells. The latter introduces more kinds of animals, especially the serpent which, happily, we never find in Lindisfarne. On some of the Kells folios, notably 130 r, these loathly creatures are in evidence, with heads seen from above, and it is worth notice that they exhibit the swollen cheeks and the expanded fish-like tail which we find on the serpent carved over the sun-dial at Escomb, Pl. xxiv, 2 (p. 174), and the twisted snakes on the door-posts of the porch at Monkwearmouth.[1] In Lindisfarne the animals are (a) quadrupeds, generally elongated and convoluted quadrupeds, and (b) birds, the former varying a good deal in the amount of anatomy they preserve, the latter more constant in type. The bird head and the beast head, firmly drawn and generally true to anatomical character, are used constantly at the terminations of the strokes of letters, ends of borders, etc. (Fig. 26).

The linear and geometrical motives employed are of three kinds, (c) spirals, (d) patterns of short straight lines running as a rule diagonally and sometimes forming squares or step-patterns, and (e) interlacing bands.

Lastly, a decorative effect is compassed by a very liberal use (f) of dots of red pigment which are used to border letters generally in a double line, and also to make a ground for the smaller showy letters on the sumptuous pages and to fill up spaces on these with diaper patterns. More will be said of these under the heading 'Technique.'

[1] Vol. II, p. 144. This should be noted in view of any question that might be raised as to the date of these two pieces of work.

One or two standard specimens of these motives may here be given.

(a) The quadruped. He may be regarded as always the same creature, and he should not be called 'lacertine' in spite of his occasional ribbon-like extension. His head is always of good mammalian type like that of a dog of mastiff breed furnished with formidable teeth, or with a sharper muzzle like that of a greyhound; his body extremely elastic, but always furnished with fore and hind legs, generally with a pair of both, that terminate sometimes in a paw at other times in one or two or three talons of which the claws are decidedly aggressive and are drawn with remarkable firmness so as to be much superior to similar details in Kells. On this point the enlarged details given on Pll. xxxvii, xxxviii and xxxix will be found most instructive. At one end an ear or sometimes a tongue and at the other end a tail admit of any amount of prolongation needed to fill up vacant spaces with convolutions and knot-work. Next after the well-anatomized beast of the E of Eusebius with his two hind legs and tail and one foreleg and cocked-up ear,[1] we may take, Pl. xxxvii, 2, the creature that fills the upper panel on the dexter side of the I on f. 211 r, the beginning of the Gospel of St John. He is alone whereas in almost every other case two or more beasts are twined together. He has a plausible body and well-marked pairs of fore and hind legs with an excellent head of the mastiff type, but where he differs from the more natural greyhound is in the substitution for an ear of a long crest filling up a space in the design with a knot. That this crest is really the prolongation of an ear can be seen by a minute comparison of the start of the crest from the head in the animals, Pl. xxxvii, 2, 3, with that of the ear of the 'whippet,' Pl. xxxvii, 1; an internal curved line suggesting the hollow of the ear is in evidence in all. The whole drawing of an ear is often to be seen at the start of the long band-like crest.

[1] Intermediate forms may be found in the M of f. 90 r, and the creatures outlined in red dots on f. 95 r, Pl. xxxiv.

There is also an elongated tongue tied up in knot-work and an unlimited tail. Another single animal on the same page is remarkable in that the two forepaws are each divided into two at a joint midway along the limb and each half ends in a single formidable claw, an arrangement which seems borrowed from the form of the bird presently to be noticed. On the same ornamental letter IN, between the two lozenges with step patterns, there is a panel where two beasts rather more lacertine in character are intertwined. Their heads with the open jaws are excellently devised (Pl. xxxvii, 3). Two right-angled triangles on either side of the diagonal stroke (which in an N should go the other way) contain, the dexter three, the sinister two, convoluted creatures, that are still complete in their anatomy, and are wonderfully drawn especially in the matter of heads and feet. Other creatures such as those that form the pattern of the ground in the ornament page 26 v (Pl. xxxii) are treated more decoratively, but it may safely be said that nowhere in the manuscript would it be possible to find an animal carelessly drawn or inconsistent, part with part, though as the examples have shown the artist deals with the motive purely in the spirit of the ornamentalist. Limbs are left out if there is no space for them, just as in those superb examples of decorative art the winged bulls of Assyria, an additional fifth leg is added for valid aesthetic reasons.

(b) With the quadrupeds of 26 v are intertwined birds, the most original and interesting motive in the decoration. Here, with every quadruped two birds are combined and each has a prodigious development of claw, as well as long sweeping tail feathers. The bird form, as has been said, is more constant than the quadruped and the hooked upper mandible is never absent so that the bird's head can always be distinguished from that of the canine creature. Submitted to the well-known ornithologist, Mr Eagle Clarke, I.S.O., of the Royal Scottish Museum, the creature was at once pronounced to be a cormorant, an identification of which the significance will subsequently appear. The build of the bird when seen at

full length as in Pl. xxxviii accords with this and so does the bill, while the markings on the wings, which look at first sight like tiling, are doubtless suggested by the special lie of the feathers on the wing of the cormorant. The crest that sometimes appears has given rise to the suggestion that the closely allied bird called the shag is the real prototype, but the more common and more heavily built cormorant is more likely. That the bird is not shown as web-footed can easily be explained. The toes are for purposes of design sometimes so widely separated and disposed in so arbitrary a fashion that no web could be stretched between them. That the number is not always three makes no difference, for exigencies of space may control the number as in the case of the limbs of the quadruped. The Lindisfarne cormorant is drawn on most of the folios in a form different from that given in the two examples on the outer upright stroke of the E on Pl. xxxvii, 1. In the latter the creature ends with a single long tail feather, but as a rule there seem to be shown the end of the bird's body as distinct from the tail feathers, instead of the latter clothing the former as in nature. What the artist had in his mind is difficult to see. In the drawings of the bird as well as of the quadruped we observe very distinctly what are known as 'contour lines,' which border the neck and the hinder parts of the former. In very many cases, as in the birds closely meshed in a sort of diaper on Pl. xxxix, or those on the borders of an ornament page, part of which is given enlarged on Pl. xxxviii, the inner parts both of neck and tail have disappeared, and only the borders cut off by the contour lines remain. The reduction of these parts of the bird to two thin parallel bands makes it possible to treat these as ribbons and, endowing them with elasticity, to subject them to the processes of curling, twisting, and interlacing customary in the case of the latter. See Pl. xxxviii, xxxix, etc.

In the matter of the distribution of these motives, an arrangement that occurs so commonly that it may be called

PLATE XXXVIII

ENLARGED DETAILS OF ff. 26 v, 210 v

PLATE XXXIX

ENLARGEMENT OF PART OF 'QUONIAM QUIDEM' PAGE, f. 139 r

characteristic of the MS. is that of a line of quadrupeds or birds couching on the ground and each one holding in its beak some part of the beast in front. Such creatures surround the full plate 2 v and form the filling of the piers and arches on nine of the tables of Canons. The quadrupeds, highly convoluted, form the motive for the filling of numerous rectangular panels, as on 138 v, Pl. xxxvi, and also those of less regular form, as on 94 v, Pl. xxxiv. On the fine full page 210 v the arrangement is more complicated and difficulties are here overcome in masterly fashion; see for a portion enlarged Pl. xxxviii. The rectangular surface is diversified by incrustations in the form of square, oblong, T-shaped, cruciform, and mitre-jointed pieces, so distributed that the spaces between them are always of the same width, these spaces being filled in with nearly a hundred birds so ingeniously arranged that every space is occupied without any appearance of crowding or of slackness. These spaces are at any rate symmetrical, but the motive is applied with equal success to the filling in of a surface with irregular contours like the panel which occupies the space below the loop of the Q in 'Quoniam quidem' on f. 139 r. This is given in an enlarged form on Pl. xxxix and is one of the best bits of ornament of the kind in the whole range of manuscript illumination. The dominant form is composed of four birds, with necks formed only of contour lines closely interwoven, broad wings, and sharply defined heads. This group occurs in the middle of the panel which is planned on a diagonal scheme, and is repeated on the dexter side below. Above and below this last are similar groups but there is a touch of variety in the disposition of the heads. Above and on the sinister side of the central group there is a space too large for a mere repetition of it and this is filled by a group slightly increased in size. The remaining spaces have eight birds single or in pairs symmetrically distributed, while the bodies and heads of the birds are relieved throughout against a sort of diaper composed of

legs, claws, and tail feathers disposed in the most elaborate convolutions but with perfect accuracy so that they can all be followed out to their proper terminations. These bird panels are artistically superior to those filled with convoluted quadrupeds in virtue of the effective contrast of the even, pear-shaped, spaces of the wings with the sharp thin lines of the rest of the creatures' anatomy.

Birds and quadrupeds we have seen in combination on the full page 26 v Pl. xxxii (p. 348). Here the main scheme, derived, as we shall find to be most probable (p. 396), from ornamented book-covers, exhibits a cross in what may be termed the 'Hartlepool' form (Ch. iii) encrusted upon a background. There is a certain appearance of monotony caused by the fact that the cross is filled in with the same motives that cover the ground outside (p. 354), but though the whole superficies, ground and cross alike, is apparently covered with a maze of interlacing curved bands of varying widths there are certain dominant forms on which the eye rests with satisfaction and which furnish a sort of skeleton to the scheme. Thus in the lower part on each side of the cross there recur tall X-like shapes with the ends of the uprights above and below curled round in volutes. Other dominant shapes are in other parts to be recognized. It needs hardly to be pointed out that the 'curved bands' are all parts of quadrupeds and birds marked out with contour lines, and the forms are distributed over the spaces with as much judgment as accuracy. They can easily be traced and verified even in the monochrome photographs especially if a reading glass be employed, but in the coloured original they are naturally still more clear. A portion of the ornament will be found enlarged on Pl. xxxviii (p. 366), and it will be seen that each quadruped has its head, a single foreleg, two hind-legs, and a tail, while the heads of the birds are easily to be distinguished by the hooked mandibles, and are very ingeniously combined with the four-footed creatures.

(c) (d) The spirals and the patterns of short straight lines may be noticed together for they are in artistic effect complementary one to the other, the first composed entirely of flowing curves, the latter of short jerky lines like those of the letters L Z T at acute or right angles to each other and often in the latter case forming squares. The effect of these patterns is of course somewhat hard, and it is significant that they are far more in evidence in Lindisfarne than in Kells, where the flowing forms of the spirals and the convoluted animals prevail almost exclusively. In the case of both these motives the questions of origin and derivation do not for the moment concern us, but only their actual forms and use in the codex. In (c), the curved motive, the decorative elements are (1) circles of various diameters, (2) curved bands expanding and contracting again that join the circles in C-shaped but also sometimes in S-shaped sweeps. Examination of these circles shows that they are formed of spiral coils of double bands each of which goes off in the direction of another coil expanding and contracting again on the journey. At the point of its greatest expansion the band is marked with a small transverse patch of almond shape the significance of which will be noticed in the sequel. To the designer this motive was of great service, for the circles can be of any size and the C-shaped curves sweep off in any direction, so that irregularly shaped spaces can be filled without much difficulty.

In (d) the short straight lines are combined in very varied fashions that it would be tedious to enumerate, but it is characteristic of them that the diagonal direction is so commonly emphasized. The Eusebian Canon shown Pl. xxxv is a good example and on f. 94 v, Pl. xxxiv, the oblong panels show a fret or key pattern set obliquely. What has been termed the 'step' pattern is not uncommon. On 211 r it fills squares set lozenge fashion. A mosaic of similar squares coloured red, blue, and yellow, and each marked with a key pattern, covers the ground of the page 138 v, Pl. xxxvi, that

has been criticized (p. 352) for excess of formality ; and small squares, pink, yellow, and brown, fill in the encrusted cross on 2 v. The diagonal setting however is not universal, and the rectangular placing makes a suitable contrast to it.

(e) The enrichment formed of interlacing bands is one of the most characteristic motives of the Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts, and is also abundantly used for the decoration of stone and metal in the early mediaeval period both in the British Isles and on the Continent. Its occurrence on the Bewcastle cross has already been signalized (p. 172). On this motive something will be said in the sequel (p. 378 f.).

(f) Of the red dots it need only be said here that they are far more abundantly used in Lindisfarne than in the Books of Kells or of Durrow in which last however they are fully in evidence. In Kells the motive mostly takes the form of sets of three dots, though single lines of dots as borders are often used. Diaper patterns in dots as fillings or as the ground for lettering are rare in Kells, but in Lindisfarne on the sumptuous pages very common. In one place on the latter, f. 95 r, Pl. xxxiv, convoluted animals are drawn out in lines of red dots. So numerous are they that on one folio, the sumptuous page 139 r, Pl. xxxvi, the writer counted more than ten thousand six hundred dots.

(3) (4) (5), Colour Effect, Pigments, Technique. These may conveniently be discussed together. The general colouring in the ornamented part of the codex is rich and subdued and not so brilliant nor so varied as that of the Book of Kells. Mr Herbert describes it well when he writes,[1] 'the softness and harmony of the colours, the skilful and delicate contrasts of blue, red, green, yellow, and purple, brought out the more effectively by touches of black in the spaces between the patterns, are unsurpassed by any manuscript of the school.' The correspondence in colour effect when two pages face each other has already been noticed (p. 348) and in this effect

[1] *Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 74.

we find sometimes red predominant, as in 2 v 3 r, at other times green, as in the two fine facing pages 26 v, 27 r, Pl. xxxii. The purple-black or lighter purple ground which is commonly used lends strength to the impression. To relieve the monotony of the panels filled with interlacing work the colours are varied in alternating squares, it may be of red and yellow, as on 2 v. It is not that the strands themselves are coloured, but a wash of colour is superinduced over a certain portion of the pattern, strands and background together. A nice aesthetic point here seems to emerge but it cannot be discussed in the space available. It is clear that the device might be criticized as inconsistent with the main treatment in which the colours are inherent in the objects or parts of them, and not a mere veil thrown over them, like the limelight colours flashed on a skirt-dancer's white robe.

In the work *Vor-Karolingische Miniaturen*, necessarily often referred to, there are elaborate notes as to colouring, but the different tints are identified by their apparent equivalents on the modern water-colour palette. From the way Dr Zimmermann writes one would gather he believed that the very pigments he mentions were employed in the MSS., but this would imply an uncritical attitude one would refuse to ascribe to him. Yet it is difficult otherwise to interpret a phrase like the following about our MS.—'*Farben* . . . das Rot vorwiegend dunkler Zinnober, der rostigen Ton angenommen hat, jedoch findet auch heller Zinnober Verwendung.' As a matter of fact no vermilion at all is used in Lindisfarne, the red being red lead, that has darkened in parts through the acting of sulphuretted hydrogen, though in other parts, and uniformly in the red dots, it has kept its brightness. The actual pigments employed are few and simple and have been reported on by trustworthy authorities. Earlier lists have now been superseded by that published in 1914 in *The Pigments and Mediums of the Old Masters*[1] by Principal Laurie,

[1] London, 1914, chapters iv and v, esp. p. 70 f.

the successor to Professor Church in the professorship of Chemistry at the Royal Academy of Arts. Through the scientific methods of investigation associated with his name Principal Laurie has evolved the following scheme for the Lindisfarne palette. The red is red lead; the green is made from the copper carbonate called malachite; the yellow is orpiment, a sulphide of arsenic; the blue is ultramarine. This last statement may surprise those familiar with the intense blue used in the Italian frescoes, for in the MS. the tint is greyish. The truth is that lapis lazuli from which ultramarine is prepared consists in a mixture of blue particles with colourless mineral grains, so that when the whole is ground down the result is a greyish blue powder. In the Early Christian centuries this was used as the pigment, little attempt being made to isolate the blue particles, a process not successfully performed till the later Middle Ages. Most of the above pigments are foreign products, the ultramarine coming from further Asia, and must have been obtained through commerce, though the red lead may possibly be of home manufacture. On the other hand the most interesting of the materials used in the painting was of native manufacture. This is the purple, which is freely used in the MS. in lighter or darker shades, and is really a form of the ancient Tyrian purple, prepared by the Celtic monks from a species of the murex shellfish found round the Irish and English coasts. The medium used, 'a gum of some kind,' must have been of surpassing excellence for in spite of the innumerable times that the pages have been turned over the pigments show no sign of flaking off. This is all the more remarkable as they are laid on very thickly and are distinctly in relief on the ground. The result, as Principal Laurie has observed, is partly due to the nature of the surface of the parchment. 'It is notorious,' he says, p. 64, 'that the pigments flake off Byzantine manuscripts much more easily than western manuscripts. This is at once explained on examining the surface of the vellum. Either

the Byzantine method of preparation was different, or some different skin was used, because the surface under the microscope has a smooth polish, while even the finest of western vellums under the microscope is simply a mass of fibres with a rough surface.' This surface combined with the excellence of the medium has brought it about that of all the myriads of red dots in the Lindisfarne MS. hardly one has come away. Each one was dabbed on with a pointed stick dipped in thickly mixed red lead, and in drying has developed a little dimple at the top of the minute lump, such as will form to-day on the case of a similar dot of thick water-colour pigment. The physical reason for a phenomenon of this kind formed the subject of experiments by the late Professor Tait. The pigments in other parts are equally firm, though they have in portions a little changed in colour. The yellows have certainly faded while the reds have darkened here and there, the green, blue, and purple being the most constant. The last, or some similar red, is in some places taken down to form a distinct pink, as on 2 v, 26 v, and in a very pale wash is used to tone the pages on which are painted the figures of the Evangelists. A light pinky red is used in fine lines to show markings on the faces of the four Gospel-writers.

The use of gold is an anomaly and a puzzle. Gold is never used in the early MSS. written in Ireland, and this is somewhat surprising in view of the comparative abundance of the metal in those times in Ireland and the facility of the craftsmen in the use of it. In Lindisfarne there are a few minute patches of gold, apparently painted on with gold paint made by grinding down gold leaf. Thus on 139 r, Pl. xxxvi, there are in the loop of the 'Q' four triangular spaces of which one only, that nearest the upright stroke of the letter, is gilded. On 27 r, Pl. xxxii, there are one or two little touches arbitrarily disposed in the ornament on the tail of the I. One would have put these down to the work of some later irresponsible hand, were it not that at the beginning of each

Gospel at the top of the sumptuous page are written in gold 'Matheus homo,' 'Marcus leo' etc., and the writing seems the same as that of the MS. as a whole. The gold lettering is not very well preserved and the technique is feeble compared with that exhibited in some contemporary MSS. noticed by Principal Laurie on page 80 of his work. It is impossible to regard the gold used in this casual and amateurish fashion as really an integral part of the original design. If it had been seriously intended to form part of the artistic effect of 27 r it would, on the principle of design we have established for the work as a whole, have made its appearance also on the fellow page 26 v.

A final word may be said on the technique of the drawing and colouring. Lines for guidance and for contours are either drawn in brown ink or are impressed on the parchment by a stylus. Lines thus impressed will be found ruled for the text, and also in a vertical direction to give the places for the columns of the writing. The various ornamental motives are often found outlined in the same fashion, but in place of the impressed lines those drawn in brown ink with a fine pen are often employed. On the unfinished sumptuous page 29 r letters not filled in with flat tints are seen outlined in this fashion. The drawing for the elaborate interlacings on the ornament page 94 v, Pl. xxxiv, is a marvel for firmness and delicacy. That the stylus has here been used is apparent on the face of the page, and the recto of the leaf, which is blank, shows clearly the marks impressed by the hard point, perhaps of ivory or bone, on the illuminated verso. The brush has followed the incised lines and has been guided by a hand so sure and directed by an eye so keen that it never transgresses a boundary but always stops in time when the one band has to pass under another. The intersections on this page have been calculated by the writer to number more than seven thousand, and the whole has been executed with this unerring accuracy, so that it would be impossible to discover any mistake. On one part of the sumptuous page 26 v,

Pl. xxxii, the expanded end of the dexter arm of the cross, there can be seen easily on the original the impressed lines of the setting-out. From the centre of the cross midmost in the small plain roundel there have been ruled eight radiating lines as guides to the drawing of the convoluted animals. The centre roundel on f. 94 v, Pl. xxxiv, when examined reveals a network of lines ruled by the stylus about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. apart as a guide for drawing out the design. Equally exquisite is the drawing of the beasts and birds, the details of the claws being always sharply accentuated. Within the spaces thus defined the pigments mixed freely with the gum medium are laid on in a full impasto, the gum giving often an effect of sparkle as it catches the light in relief. We never find however this thickly laid pigment scaling off.

'Das Lindisfarne-Evangeliar steht—wie das Book of Kells—auf einsamer Höhe.' Dr Zimmermann places our codex on its lonely height—faced across the Irish sea by a similar height crowned by the Book of Kells—because as he says, p. 116, 'we know no manuscript, which in a similar style of ornament exhibits an equal mastery in drawing and in colour.' The present writer, starting with the powerful impression produced on his mind by a study at Dublin of the Book of Kells, has found that a comparison of the weirdly beautiful Irish codex radiating all the glamour of Celtic romance with the far plainer and more rigid Northumbrian masterpiece leads to the conviction that, while Kells as a human document is far more wonderful, Lindisfarne is more satisfying to the sober aesthetic judgment. This conviction is the result of close examination into the details of design and execution the extraordinary merit of which more than counterbalances any defects of stiffness and monotony which might be alleged by severe critics. The special point of interest here is the fact that Lindisfarne is revealed as in character English rather than Hibernian. It must be remembered of course that in previous Chapters of this work Celtic art, pagan or Christian, has been vindicated from the charge of mere

lavishness in decoration and shown to evince a fine feeling for line and appreciation of balance and contrast,[1] while per contra the Anglo-Saxon coin artist was shown (Vol. III, Ch. II) to possess a restless vivacity in ornamental design that is almost Irish, yet in the main fundamental distinctions in national character are pretty constant, and there is a certain sober sense and moderation about the predominant race in the bigger of the British territories as compared with the gifted but elusive inhabitants of the 'other island' that tells in matters of art as well as in public affairs. Lindisfarne is thus attested by its intrinsic qualities as an Anglo-Saxon product, and in this way comes into line with the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses. It is Anglo-Saxon in its reticence and its instinct for keeping along a path once marked out, which contrast with the volubility and waywardness of the Celt; and Anglo-Saxon too in its sense of structure and its comparative formality in general scheme and in distribution of motives. In one detail also we distinguish an Anglian trait, and this is in the delight in the bird form, which is far more in evidence in the Durham Book than in Kells or other Hibernian manuscripts. The creature, we have seen, is a cormorant, and cormorants breed on the Farne islands, while we must remember as a pertinent fact that Holy Island is at this day a famous haunt of sea-birds and a great hunting ground for the ornithologist. There is nothing improbable in the idea that the birds so loved of the Northumbrian designer are the sea fowl of his own Lindisfarne. At a much later date the Venetian designers of Renaissance ornament on the Ducal palace and elsewhere in the city of the lagoons introduce maritime motives suggested by their own surroundings into their conventional schemes, while the Aegean artists of two millenniums earlier made the flora and fauna of their own seas the basis of their ornamental repertory.

[1] Vol. III, 17, and *Arts and Crafts of our Teutonic Forefathers*, Baldwin Brown, Lond., 1910, p. 230.

CHAPTER XVI

THE GOSPELS OF LINDISFARNE: A STUDY OF ORIGINS

The foregoing description and aesthetic appreciation of the Durham Book, though they have occupied a good many pages, are really only an introduction to the formidable questions of the pre-history of the style it exhibits and of the provenance and connections of the various ornamental motives which have received notice. This volume however has run to such a length, and problems of origin have already occupied so many of its pages, that only a summary treatment of these questions is in this place possible. The reader may be reminded that the Introductory Chapter to Vol. III of this work dealt to some extent with the various traditions in ornament that existed in the Early Christian centuries in Western Europe, and what was there said may be taken as a basis for the treatment of the matters just indicated. It was pointed out that the student of Anglo-Saxon art has to reckon with the deep-rooted British prejudice that 'anything conspicuously good in art that is found in Britain must in some way or another have come from abroad,' and just as in the case of the crosses so here we are met by the theory that as 'Italian carvers' are responsible for the stones so the codex is the work of Celtic hands working along purely Celtic lines of tradition. As a fact however the authorship is Anglo-Saxon, and there has just been claimed for it a distinctly Anglo-Saxon character in general treatment and in the use of the bird motive in a form that takes us at once to the Northumbrian coast. This being the case it is a sound principle to look back to other Anglo-Saxon work executed in this country in earlier centuries

to see what light it may furnish. It goes without saying that the difference between the pagan tomb furniture and the Christian manuscript of a century or more later is necessarily very great, and that the general style of the MS. ornamentation is Celtic rather than Teutonic, but all the same a good preparation for the study of the latter is a scrutiny of the earlier English artistic objects as they may be studied in London or Liverpool, or in the illustrations to the last two volumes of this work.

The few archaeological notes on the motives in the Lindisfarne MS. for which there is space may follow the reverse order to that in which they have already been reviewed, and begin with the dots to end with the portraits of the Evangelists.

Rows of dots or a powdering of dots is a not uncommon form of enrichment in oriental and Roman work, and many examples also occur on the Germanic objects figured on the plates to Vols. III and IV. Lines of dots in connection with conventional leafage occur on the Alfriston silver quoit fibula shown Vol. III, Pl. LII, 11, of the last part of VI, but Lindisfarne does not borrow the motive directly from sources of the kind for it occurs early on the pages of MSS. In the famous Vienna *Dioscorides* of early VI it is used, apparently for the first time, and we find there the large capital letters heading the alphabetical sections in the Index each bordered with a row of red dots. In the *Antiphoniary of Bangor*, dating 680-90, the red dots are introduced in groups of three, and this arrangement is common in the Book of Kells though not in Lindisfarne. The motive is certainly not invented by the Anglian scribe but he has made a more extensive use of it than is the case elsewhere.

With the interlacing ornaments a subject is reached of no small difficulty. The origin and early history of the motive are alike obscure, while the number and importance of the monuments that exhibit its later developments have made and keep it an object of widespread interest. In one form

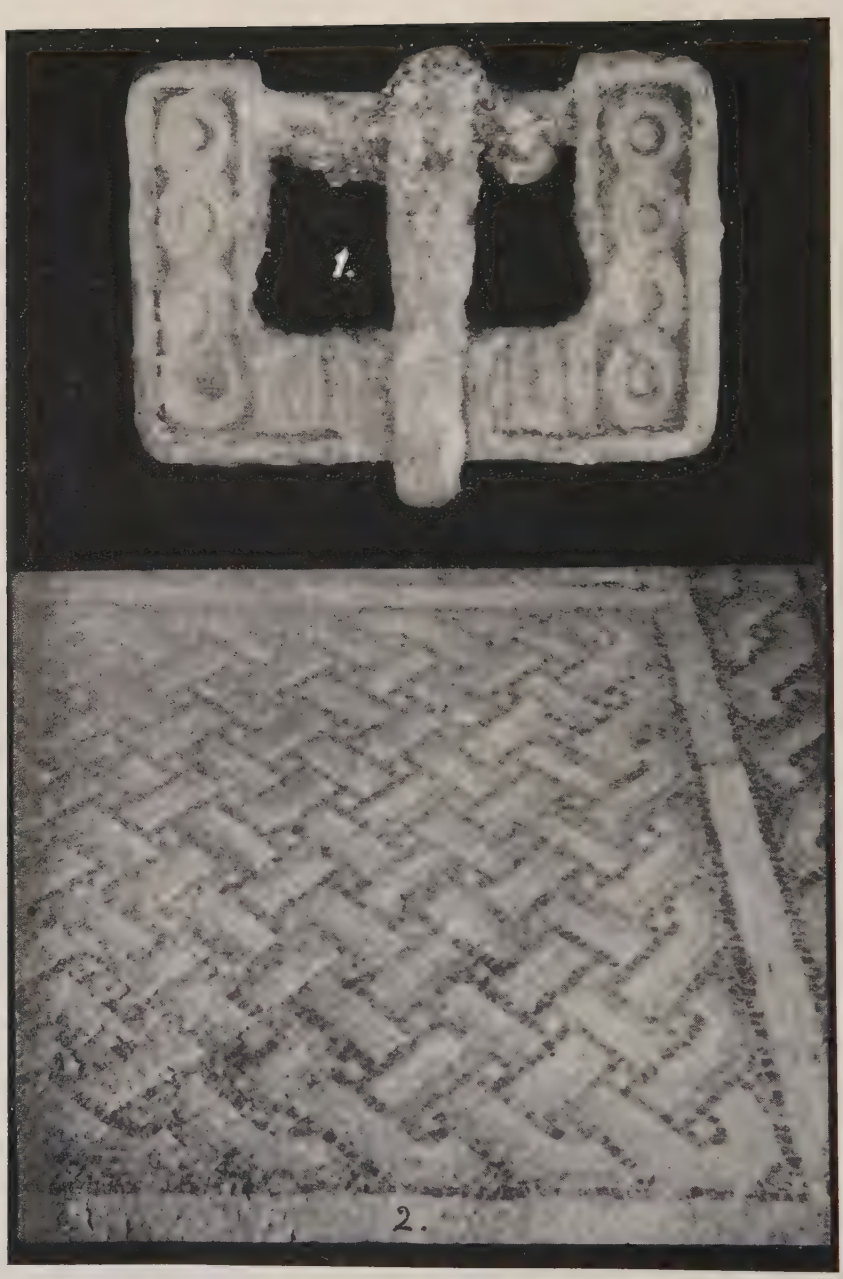

PLATE XL

1, BRONZE BUCKLE WITH GUILLOCHE ORNAMENT, FROM BROADSTAIRS, KENT

2, ROMAN MOSAIC PAVEMENT AT PARENZO, ISTRIA

or another it is in evidence in the ornamental work of almost all races, and is a characteristic element in that of practically all Christian peoples from about VI to XII, while in some forms of it it was cultivated ardently by the Arabs of the early mediaeval period. It is universally acknowledged that the ornamental treatment of the 'entrelac,' to borrow a convenient French term, was carried further in Great Britain and Ireland than abroad, but this is far from meaning that we were its inventors. In Ireland, where there is a greater continuity in the history of ornament than in Great Britain, the entrelac is not one of the motives inherited from pagan times but appears first on Christian monuments. In England it is introduced with the later pagan tomb furniture of VII, but only in the same forms that occur on the Continent. Viewing the monuments that represent it as a whole, we should not judge that the style was invented in any one particular centre and thence distributed, but rather that it arose about the same time in different parts owing to the working of some very widely diffused influence. Guesses have been made as to what that influence was. Basket work, an art of universal use, or weaving generally, has been suggested, but against this theory there is one most serious objection. In the panels of interlacing work, innumerable on the carved cross shafts and on the pages of MSS. (but in the former case of more regular outlines) the dominant lines that catch the eye in the various patterns and form for them a sort of skeleton are diagonal lines, whereas in weaving the lines cross each other at right angles. The same is the case with a rectangular panel of basket work, though the round bottom of a basket may be treated with a spiral intertwined with lines radiating from its centre. Entrelac patterns occasionally show this special form, that can however be arrived at quite independently of basket work, but the rectangular intersections of woven fabrics are distinctly *not* the prevailing lines in such patterns, and this is enough to exclude weaving as the generating influ-

ence in the entrelac. On the other hand a kind of work earlier than entrelacs, and widely diffused over all the regions where entrelacs ultimately appear, does distinctly present the diagonal as the dominant line in its patterns. The reference is to a certain class of those Roman mosaic pavements which were almost universal in Roman villas of the better style in England and all over the Empire. In these the design is founded indeed on a textile motive but one based on the plait and not on the web. In the plait two or more filaments interlace, but not on straight lines, for each filament has to be pulled on one side to twine with its neighbour, and the diagonal lines thus generated are carried through the design. The beginning of these pavement patterns is the guilloche, a textile motive of hoary antiquity, and the broadening out of the guilloche, or the substitution, for that simple two-strand plait or twist, of plaits of a large number of strands, produces a pattern that will cover an extended surface.

The guilloche which occurs in a simple form in Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture, as on the objects from Eastry, Kent (Vol. III, 203), or on a bronze buckle found at Broadstairs, Kent, (Pl. XL, 1) and dating in the latter part of VI, is a plait of two strands, but to avoid the appearance of raw ends it is represented as a loop like a skein of worsted twisted together. See Pl. XL. It is to be noted that for the sake of a neat finish at the top and bottom of a panel of plait work the strands are doubled and no single end of a strand is seen. This is a conventional treatment that at once transforms the mere plait with raw ends into a decorative form complete and pleasing to the eye. If eight cords or bands be plaited together a fair width is covered, and Fig. 27, 1, shows the scheme of such a plait the strands numbered 1 to 8 being joined together in pairs above and below for the sake of decorative effect. If more strands are introduced a wider space can be covered and we obtain a pattern like that of the Roman mosaic pavement the subject of the illustration Pl. XL, 2, where the

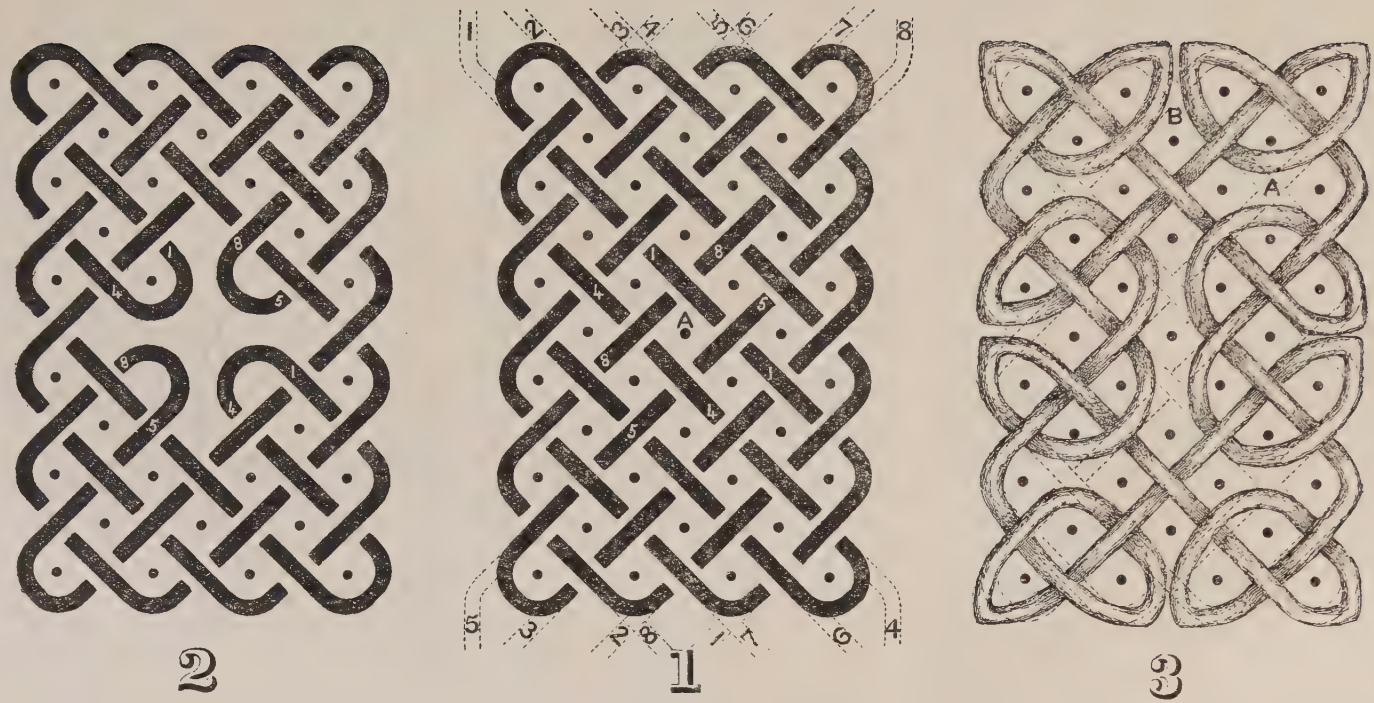

Fig. 27.—Interlacing ornament based on the eight-strand plait.

strands number 14. The development from this perfectly uniform web one part of which is exactly like every other, to a rectangular panel of entrelacs such as we find in abundance on Hiberno-Saxon carved cross shafts or metal-work panels, and on illuminated folios, where convoluted lines combine to form patterns so varied and complex as apparently to defy analysis, is due to the ingenious exploitation of one very simple device already used in the joining in pairs above and below of the raw ends noticed above. At a point where two strands cross each other both are cut so as to produce four loose ends which are then joined up in pairs. The guilloche treated as in Fig. 28 illustrates this in its simplest form. The original twist is shown in No. 1 and might go on for ever, or be ended at any time by joining the two strands as has been done at the start. Now if at a certain point of crossing, A in No. 1, the two strands are cut and the four ends joined up in pairs we obtain what is known as a ' break ' as at A in No. 2, while similar breaks at B and C carry the process further, and the continuous band of No. 1 becomes in No. 2 a succession of distinct contrasted forms that produce a pattern. In the case of a four-strand plait such as that roughly incised on a Kentish buckle shown Vol. III, Pl. LXXIV, 2,[1] the introduction of breaks gives a pattern like that shown Fig. 28, 3, from the Ciborium of San Giorgio di Valpolicella, at Verona, an often quoted work dating 712 A.D. In the eight-strand plait, Fig. 27, the beginning of the process of breaking up the uniformity of the web and evolving from it pattern is shown in Nos. 1 and 2 where round the central interspace marked with the letter A the intersections of the four strands which

[1] If it be asked, How do we know that it is a four-strand plait ? the answer is that the number of strands is always double that of the number of intersections measured across the width of the panel where it is narrowest, that is, in between the projecting rounds formed by the bends of the strands. This only applies to plaits with an even number of strands, with which alone the text deals.

bound the space, numbered 1, 4, 5, 8, are cut so that each strand is left with two free ends. These eight ends are then turned about and joined up in pairs 8 to 5, 1 to 4, 5 to 8, and 1 to 4, as shown in No. 2, the result being a sort of cruci-

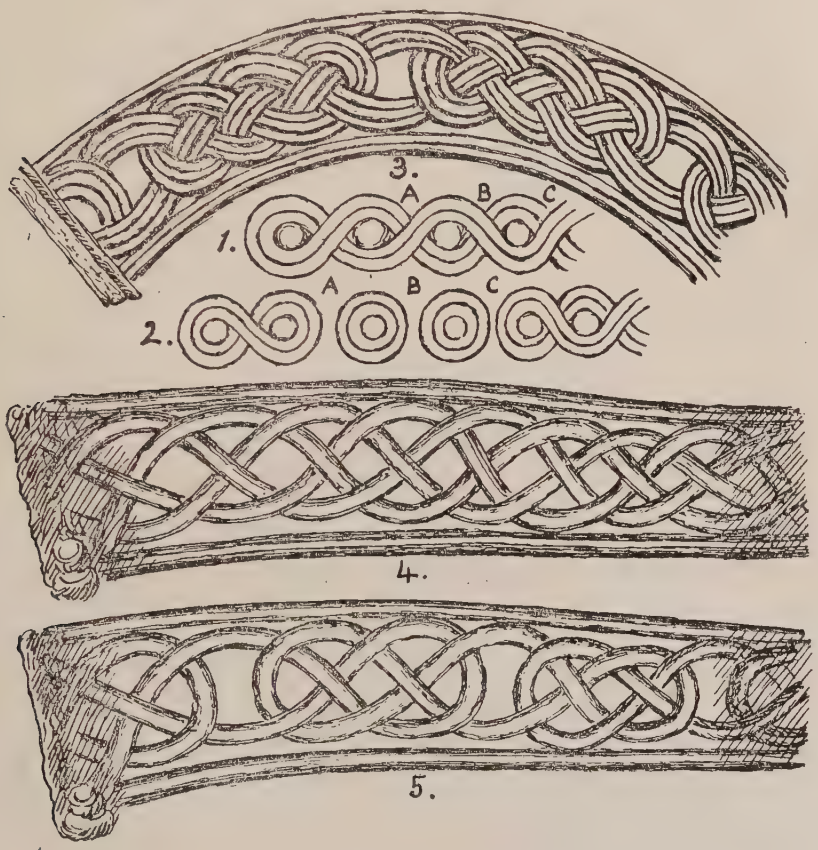

FIG. 28.—Early beginnings of knot work.

form interspace which breaks the monotony of the mesh and on which by an extension of the process a pattern might be built up. The diagram is founded on one by Mr Romilly Allen. Taking now an actual example, Fig. 27, 3, one of the interlacing panels on the Bewcastle cross on the south side below the sun-dial panel, Pl. XII (p. 104), we find on it an

eight-strand plait based on a web like that in Fig. 27, 1, but by means of various breaks and joinings-up the ground is covered with a pattern made up of what appears to be a series of knots. This illustrates the development of what is termed 'knot work' out of 'plait work.' The difference is not however one of principle as in each case we have to do with interlacing bands. The knot in the upper sinister corner is simply made by cutting strands 8 and 3 (see No. 1 for the numbering) at their intersection at A, and joining the two ends above the cut and the two ends below the cut so as to produce a horizontal break at A. In the centre of the top of the panel the intersection of 3 and 6 is cut at B and the bands joined in pairs so as to produce a vertical break at B. The construction of the rest of the pattern can easily be made out with the help of the numbered strands on No. 1.

The above is merely designed to furnish the simplest possible introduction to a rather large and complicated subject, and readers interested in it are referred to the writings of the high priest of these mysteries the late Mr Romilly Allen, F.S.A., who in the monumental work *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*[1] analysed no fewer than about eight hundred different interlacing patterns, all produced on the same simple principle.

Where is the preparatory work that led up to this? Mr Romilly Allen remarks 'Although we do not know *who* made this discovery of how to make breaks in a plait, we know pretty nearly *when* it was made,' and then, perhaps under the influence of the superstition that everything in art must come from Italy, he gives certain dates in Italian work as marking the discovery. They are all however dates in VIII, and if works like the Valpolicella Ciborium of 712 begin the evolution of decorative entrelacs it is by a development backwards that we should reach the Bewcastle cross, or the Lindisfarne manuscript of the end of VII! Now it so happens that

[1] Edinburgh, 1903.

Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture in England supplies us with a four-strand plait exhibiting similar breaks to those in the plait on the Ciborium at Verona, Fig. 28, 3. The piece in question can be dated about three-quarters of a century *before* the Gospels of Lindisfarne, and this suggests that we might look to our own country, rather than to any part of the Continent for the beginnings of the development of that interlacing work which has been universally acknowledged as a British speciality. The reference is to a portion of an ornamented sword mount in the British Museum, found at Crundale in Kent and dating from the early part of VII. It is shown Fig. 28, 4 and 5, and also in a photograph, Pl. XLII, 1, *a* (p. 390). No. 4 gives the scheme of the ornament as a four-strand plait without breaks, and No. 5 shows it as it is with the three breaks at A, B, and C. The date of the piece is fixed typologically by Bernhard Salin[1] and may be accepted with confidence. There is no need to point out the distance that intervenes between a simple first essay like this and such elaborate entrelacs as we find in Lindisfarne, or even at Bewcastle, but at any rate the Crundale piece is on the right side of them in point of time.

The examples that have now been noticed are all plaits of even numbers of strands on rectangular panels and are treated symmetrically, but the strands may be uneven in number, and there may be irregularities deliberately designed as well as those which in the later period of decadence are due to carelessness or ignorance. Such a designed irregularity occurs on the Bewcastle cross, northern face, in the panel below the chequers, Pl. XXIII, 1. The outlines of the two sides, it will be seen, are quite different, and the sweep of lines through the composition exhibits a sense of balance among varying shapes. There are some rectangular panels similarly treated in the Lindisfarne codex, but the most

[1] *Altgermanische Thierornamentik*, p. 328. See also *Arts in Early England*, Vol. III, p. 328 f. and Pl. LXIII, 4.

elaborate examples are not confined to rectangular panels on which it is easy to set out a 'web' and engineer 'breaks,' but have to fill irregularly shaped spaces, or spaces which, though bounded by straight lines and right angles, branch off to right and left and form a sort of diaper of rectangles as on the ornament pages 2 v or 94 v, Pl. xxxiv. On the latter folio a single continuous pattern, the drawing out of which with the stylus has been already noticed (p. 374), fills in all the interspaces between the various panels, eleven in number, disposed over the surface. It may fairly be claimed for it that it is one of the finest pieces of design of the kind in existence, for it is not made up by the mere multiplication of one or two simple forms. The pattern presents us with certain shapes, notably an approximate circle, repeated all over the superficies, but these circles are crossed by comparatively long straight lines, that give a contrasted effect and bind the whole together. Anybody who takes the trouble to follow out any one line in the pattern will find it lead him quite a long excursion into neighbouring territory before it returns towards the point whence it started. The enlarged portion of the entrelacs given on Pl. xli furnishes illustrations. If we start from the dexter bottom corner we can follow either strand of the loop that fills the corner and it will lead us in and out and about, as far as the top of the plate whence it returns, still meandering, to join up at the corner loop with the strand with which we started. The loop in the dexter upper corner on the Plate can be followed down and out of the Plate on the sinister side below, where it travels in its own fashion as far as the middle of the lowest line of the entrelacs, seen on Pl. xxxiv, whence it returns to the corner where it started. In this way the middle point of the design on its lowest level is marked by the junction of two loops one coming from the dexter the other from the sinister side, thus bearing out what was said about the general character of the design in the M.S. (p. 332). Is is quite clear that the anatomy of a pattern

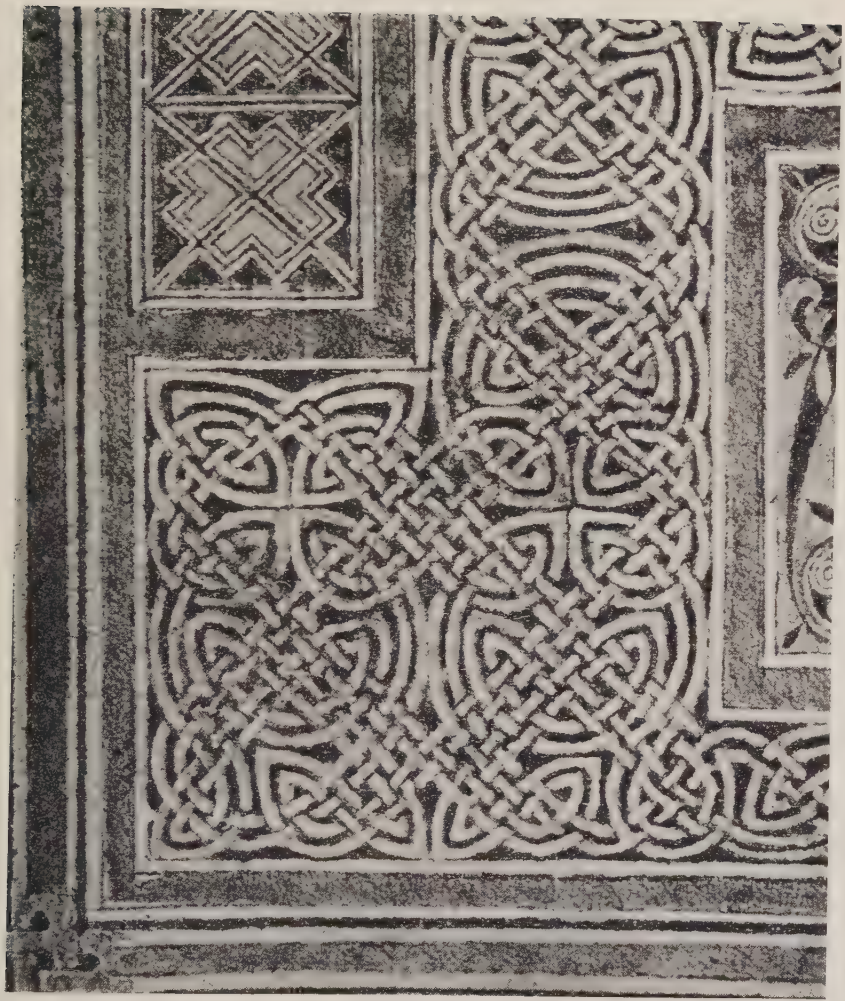

PLATE XLI

PORTION ENLARGED OF f. 94v

of this kind must be something very far different from the anatomy of the simpler rectangular panels with the 'web' and 'breaks' noticed above. Space forbids here any further discussion of this interesting but difficult theme.

In the matter of the short straight line patterns, or as Mr Romilly Allen called them the 'Key' patterns, and the spirals, there is about the latter no question that they are of 'Late-Celtic' derivation, and were at home in Ireland as well as in parts of England at the time when the Hiberno-Saxon manuscript style was in process of formation. With the former the case is different and several suggestions have been made as to their provenance. Some have called attention to the Chinese-like character of these linear patterns, and have tried to visualize a thin thread of tradition connecting remote oriental times and places with our own country in Early Christian days. But if 'Observation with extensive view' turn her glance in the opposite direction she may find in Peru just as in China motives of the kind, and they are in fact very widely diffused. Salin would derive this 'geometrical ornament,' as he terms it, from Teutonic tomb furniture, but though there are pieces that may be quoted in favour of this, such as the buckle-plate at Namur, Vol. III, Pl. LXXIII, 4, yet the motive is in this tomb furniture by no means distinctive. From the aesthetic point of view as we have seen (p. 369) the linear patterns may be regarded as complementary to the spirals, and they are used to some extent as a contrast to the sweeping curves in the ornament of the period of La Tène. Examples will be found in easily accessible works on Celtic art, such as Mr Romilly Allen's *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian times*,[1] the British Museum *Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age*,[2] or Mr George Coffey's *Guide to the Celtic Antiquities of the Christian Period preserved in the National Museum, Dublin*.[3] For example on a spear head from Thièle in the Museum at Berne, figured British Museum

[1] London, 1904. [2] London, 1905. [3] Dublin, 1909.

Guide, p. 22, the curves and linear patterns are used effectively in conjunction, and a Gaulish helmet from Gorge-Meillet in the Marne district shows a kind of key pattern, see Romilly Allen, p. 12. In these examples the straight lines are set diagonally, and, since in the Hiberno-Saxon MSS. the diagonal direction is as much in evidence here as in the entrelacs, we may find in Late-Celtic art the origin of the linear 'key' patterns of the manuscripts.

The history of the spirals is not a little interesting. What are known as 'flamboyant scrolls,' a familiar motive in Late-Celtic ornament, are derived ultimately from the conventional leaf ornament of the Greeks, but as seen for example on the famous Aesica fibula at Newcastle, Vol. III, Pl. LII, 3, the curves have lost all connection with nature and are disposed freely, with the finest decorative taste, over the surface. In other perfect examples of this style in decoration, such as the Thames Shield in the British Museum, figured in colour as Frontispiece to the British Museum *Guide*, the curves are arranged with relation to certain round discs, treated here with enamelled ornament, between which they develop their characteristic sweeping curves. In the similar work of Early Christian times, as we see it in the manuscripts, these round discs are filled or bordered by spirals, and in carefully wrought specimens the ends of the two bands which are coiled together, or the two ends of the one doubled band, go off in the curves already described (p. 369). Here it is seen that the spiral is an addition to the motive as we find it in the monuments of the pagan period such as the Thames Shield. It used to be believed (Vol. III, p. 292 f.) that these Early Christian spirals were survivals, or rather revivals, of the far older Bronze Age close-coiled spirals, which appear on the carved stone at Newgrange, Ireland, Vol. III, Pl. LII, 1, but Mr Coffey doubted the connection, and thought the Early Christian spirals represented a new start. Beginnings of the spiral appear however in pre-Christian Celtic art, as on

objects figured in the British Museum *Guide*, pp. 54, 91, while there are incipient spirals even on the Aylesford bucket, p. 116. The whole of the 'spiral' or 'trumpet pattern' ornament in the MSS. may be put down as based on Late-Celtic traditions. The motives are not confined to Late-Celtic work in Ireland, for Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture presents excellent examples, dating from VII, in the scutcheons on bronze bowls, figured and described Vol. IV, p. 475 f. These precede the illuminated manuscripts in date.

The sources of the animal ornament in the manuscripts of the Celtic style have been considerably discussed, but the publication of Dr Salin's *Altgermanische Thierornamentik* has greatly facilitated a decision. The earlier Germanic beast ornament of V and VI was referred to and illustrated in Vols. III and IV of this work, Vol. III, pp. 13, 103, 298 f., 324 f., Vol. IV, 555 f., with the plates therewith connected, and it was seen that provincial-Roman beasts, notably the lion, were treated throughout this period in a gradually degenerating style which by about the year 600 had left nothing of the original animal but a mere play of lines. At this time, Salin points out, there came about what he calls a renaissance, and the 'disjecta membra' of the older creatures came together again into animals that once more possessed an anatomy, though they were not of the same leonine type as their provincial-Roman prototypes. At the same time, in VII, the principle of interlacing was coming in (Vol. III, p. 329 f.) and the creatures conform obediently to the new conditions. The Crundale sword mount already noticed (p. 385) possesses on the side of the 'cocked hat' pommel two interlacing animals in low relief that resemble so closely the animals drawn in the Irish Book of Durrow that the likeness is quite uncanny, and almost forces us to assume a connection between these VII Teutonic beasts of the tomb furniture and the zoographs in the Hiberno-Saxon codices. Pl. XLII affords opportunity for some comparisons. 1 *a* shows the pommel and 1 *b* some animals

from the Book of Durrow. They agree in the form of the heads and snouts which are in evidence towards the sides of the pommel, and still more strikingly in the limbs which are treated like ribbons and terminate in each case with what looks more like a sort of brush than a set of claws. The articulations of limbs to bodies is the same in the two pieces. It needs hardly to be pointed out to the observant reader that the Lindisfarne animals are of a markedly different breed, and do not agree in form or detail with those on the pommel or in Durrow. In regard to their origin we should be inclined to bring in a reference to the animals on the sceat coins so copiously represented on Plates IV to VIII of Vol. III. On Pl. VIII, Nos. 15, 17, and 19 seem to present effigies of dogs treated in a fresh and natural fashion, and such a Lindisfarne beast as the 'racing whippet' of Pl. XXXVII might have come out of the same kennels. The Lindisfarne quadruped is always of the canine type, but when convoluted, as in the other examples on Pl. XXXVII, he partakes of the character of the interlaced animals in the tomb furniture, though he is much better in drawing than a beast like that of the Crundale pommel, and *a fortiori* than creatures like the Durrow triplet.

On the same Pl. XLII, where the last are figured, may be seen in 1 *c* and 1 *d* two specimens of animal ornament from the Book of Kells. The MS. is not in so good a condition as Lindisfarne, and the animals partly for this reason partly because they are very closely involved are not easy to decipher, but this uncertainty is mainly due to the fact that the salient points of them such as the head or the extremities are not so strongly accentuated. See 1 *c* from Kells 32 v. We miss in all the purely Irish work of this kind the virile expressive drawing of the Anglian artist, especially to be noticed in the birds on Pl. XXXVIII. Pl. XLII, 1 *d*, is a very good piece of animal work from Kells more legible than most, and the serpent on the lower sinister side should be noticed. What a difference however between the tense nervous drawing of the limbs in

PLATE XLII

1, ANIMAL ORNAMENT, (*a*) in Teutonic tomb furniture, (*b*) in the Book of Durrow, (*c*) (*d*) in the Book of Kells

2, PORTABLE ALTAR OF ST CUTHBERT, DURHAM

Lindisfarne with bones and joints in them and well-formed claws with pads under each, and the flabby lengths of tape that do duty for legs in the Durrow specimen, Pl. XLII, 1 *b*!

Among the ornamental motives that have been passed in review there has been no inclusion of foliage. Foliage ornament is entirely absent from Lindisfarne, and no discussion of it is accordingly needed. It should be remembered however that the motive is somewhat freely employed in the Book of Kells in more than one form (p. 362). A trefoil of conventional type may be seen just above the horizontal fish in the upper part of the ornament Pl. XLII, 1 *d* from Kells. The prototypes for this sort of foliage (as well as for the fish) are to be found in contemporary continental MSS.

To sum up in a word, with the single exception of the foliage, the ornamental motives in the Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts are derived from Late-Celtic and from Germanic sources, and it is remarkable how independent are these insular productions of the style exhibited by continental illuminated MSS. of the same or slightly earlier date. Dr Zimmermann has figured the work in these on more than 150 plates of his monumental book, but, again with the exception of the foliage, or the Kells fish, there is practically nothing in any of these illustrations that bears upon the insular work, whereas if this last were derived from continental sources the continental manuscripts would be much more in line with it. Motives would not be conveyed by aeroplane from Syria or Italy to Britain and dropped ready made at the feet of Irish scribes, but would be slowly diffused leaving traces wherever they passed. If the convoluted animals had been drawn for example from Lombard sources they would appear in North Italian and in Gallic manuscripts, but they are not there found except in codices influenced directly from Ireland, and the same is true in the case of elaborate entrelacs and of key patterns.

Mr Romilly Allen at the close of his *Celtic Art* sums up as follows :—' I consider the so-called Celtic style to be a local variety of the Lombardo-Byzantine style, from which the figure-subjects, the interlaced work, the scrolls of foliage, and many of the strange real and fabulous creatures were apparently borrowed.' For the creatures and the interlaced work we have seen reason to adopt a totally different derivation, but the foliage and the figure work are executed under direct continental influence. The pictures of the Evangelists in Lindisfarne, Pl. xxxiii (p. 352), are copied, and very well copied, from late-classical originals, but a caveat must be entered against the prevailing tendency to call them ' Byzantine.' Mr J. A. Herbert [1] writes of them ' these miniatures are thoroughly Byzantine in design,' and says that the relationship is proved ' beyond a doubt by the inscriptions in a sort of Latinized Greek, " O agios Mattheus," " O agius Marcus," etc.' At the same time he has acutely remarked that the symbols of the Evangelists which in each case occur must have been borrowed from Latin prototypes, for these symbols are in Byzantine manuscripts unknown until the later middle-age,[2] and in accordance with this we note that the names of the symbols, ' imago hominis,' etc., are in the Latin language. Now a little attention paid to these pictures from the aesthetic point of view renders it clear that the symbols and the figures with their titles are all part of the same scheme. Latin symbols have not been added ' après coup ' to Greek Evangelists, either by the Lindisfarne scribe or the artist of the models from which he made his copies, but both have been designed together. If we notice the way the inscriptions are disposed in relation to the symbols, as in the cases of Matthew and John, Pl. xxxiii, this will be clear, and we may conjecture that the origin of the pictures as a whole was South-Italian. The introduction of a modicum of Greek need

[1] *Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1911, p. 74.

[2] ibid., p. 62. Dr Zimmermann expresses his agreement with this.

hardly stand in the way for as Tischendorf has pointed out [1] even in the contemporary *Codex Amiatinus*, a Latin MS. of about 700, there are Greek tags such as θεω XAPC at the end of the list of chapters of the Acts.

It is necessary to say a word about the Codex just mentioned as it has a bearing not only on the Gospels of Lindisfarne but on a contemporary work mentioned in the last chapter of the Volume—the Coffin of St Cuthbert.

The *Codex Amiatinus* in the Laurentian Library at Florence [2] is a Latin copy of the Bible in the version of St Jerome, that exhibits at the beginning some garbled verses which, restored as can be done with certainty to their original wording, convey without any possibility of doubt the information that the MS. is the self-same codex of which we have a notice in Bede's *Lives of the Abbots of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth*. In § 15 (p. 379 of vol. 1 of Plummer's Bede) we are told that Ceolfrid of Jarrow brought from Rome a copy of the Bible in Latin, from which, when abbot of the monastery, he had three copies made. Late in his life he resigned his office and set out again for Rome bearing with him one of these three copies as a gift for the Roman bishop. Ceolfrid died on the journey at Langres in Gaul, and we are informed in the *Anonymous History* of these same abbots, contained in the Harleian MS. 3020, at § 37 (Plummer 1, 402), that some of the deceased abbot's companions carried the book with them forward into Italy. It found there, under conditions of which we are ignorant, an abode in the convent on Monte Amiato near Siena, whence comes the name by which it is generally known.

The Codex is of portly size consisting in 1029 folios each measuring about 19½ in. by 13 in., and Tischendorf says it is so heavy that a single man can hardly lift it. One may note

[1] *Novum Testamentum . . . ex Celeberrimo Codice Amiatino . . .*, Lipsiae, MDCCCL, p. XVII.

[2] Thanks are hereby offered to Professor Rostagno of the Laurentian Library for a kind communication on the subject of the Codex.

in passing that the production of three books on this lordly scale says something for the effective organization of the Jarrow scriptorium, while the fact that Ceolfrid could add this burden to his baggage gives the idea that transport facilities in the year 716 were better than we might have imagined. The writing is in the ' uncial book-hand ' and from its character Sir E. Maunde Thompson thought it ' probable that the MS. was written by Italian scribes brought over to this country.' [1] On the other hand Dr Zimmermann, on the strength of the one ornamented initial letter in the MS., which shows interlacing work of the pattern of that in the Gospels of Lindisfarne, decides that it is of insular workmanship. On a palaeographical question of this kind the present writer has no right to express an opinion but readers of the foregoing pages will not expect him to be any more partial to the theory of Italian scribes than to that of Italian stone cutters. The two points however that make reference to the Codex Amiatinus obligatory are the following, and have nothing to do with the nature of the script.

Prefixed to the Codex are eight extra folios, on one of which is the often-reproduced picture of a scribe writing in his library shown Fig. 29, and on another a representation of the Tabernacle or the Temple of Solomon, on which Greek and Latin inscriptions are mingled. This representation, for reasons into which space forbids us to enter, points to Cassiodorus,[2] and Dr Zimmermann believes that the scribe is Cassiodorus himself in his famous Vivarium library (see Cabrol, l.c.), and that the picture dates from about the middle of VI. Now if the reader will compare the Matthew of the Lindisfarne Gospels, Pl. xxxiii (p. 352) with this figure of a scribe he will see that they are practically identical, and the resemblance extends to the cushion and the bench, where indeed it is particularly striking. It is very commonly assumed that the

[1] *Introduction*, p. 289.

[2] See Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, II, 2358, art. ' Cassiodore.'

pictures of the Evangelists in Lindisfarne would be copied from the Neapolitan manuscript gifted to the monastery by Adrian (p. 340), but there is nothing to show that this MS. was an illuminated one. The excellence of the Lindisfarne

FIG. 29.—Writer in Scriptorium, from the Codex Amiatinus at Florence.

Evangelists and the close resemblance of one to the 'Cassiodorus' picture make us inclined with Zimmermann to seek for models of these Evangelist pictures in good VI examples belonging to the same time and cycle as the picture of the scribe. This would account for their comparative merit in the drawing, especially of the extremities.

The background of the scribe picture shows a classical *armarium* full of books in handsome bindings. On some of these is displayed a cross, and it seems most probable that it was from enriched book-covers such as these that the designer of the ornament pages in the Gospels drew his inspiration.

It was made clear that the scribe picture is not an integral part of the Codex Amiatinus, but is an addition bound up with it at the beginning, under conditions of which we have no knowledge. The Codex itself is almost unadorned but contains, besides the one initial letter noticed above, a full-page coloured picture, f. 796 v, of Christ in Glory with two archangels, all in a round panel with classical bordering. The remarkable thing about this picture, evidently copied from a late-classical model, is its failure in artistic quality. The figure design is markedly poorer than that of the Lindisfarne Evangelists, and the power of drawing immeasurably inferior to that shown in the Lindisfarne animal ornament. The Amiatinus was of course written not at Lindisfarne but at Jarrow, but it is certainly contemporary with the Gospel book, and that the art of it is so different is a fact of some interest. It is a fact moreover that bears on the criticism of the coffin of St Cuthbert presently to be noticed, for, as will be made evident, the character of the incised drawings on the coffin is also far inferior to the work in the Gospels, but is not at all unlike that in the picture in the contemporary Codex Amiatinus, as a specimen figured Fig. 35 (p. 410) will show.

CHAPTER XVII

THE COFFIN OF ST CUTHBERT

On May 17, 1827, the platform which projects behind the High Altar of Durham Cathedral into the Chapel of the Nine Altars was the scene of a ceremony of much interest. It is the known site of the famous shrine of St Cuthbert, and there was then raised from the pavement the stone slab beneath which the body of the saint is supposed to have been re-interred at the time of the Reformation. A more or less careful excavation of which a contemporary account remains [1] brought to light the decayed fragments of an oaken coffin on which were incised designs and inscriptions, and below these amidst other relics there appeared, in the words of the Rev. James Raine, 'a dark substance of the length of a human body, which, after a moment's investigation, proved to be a skeleton, lying with its feet to the east, swathed apparently in one or more shrouds of linen or silk.' 'Our first step,' he continues a few sentences later, 'after the skeleton was raised out of its grave, was to free it still more carefully from the broken wood and dust which rested upon it; and in doing this it was impossible to leave uninjured the robes by which it was protected: some of them were, in fact, in such a state of decay, as scarcely to endure the slightest touch.

[1] *Saint Cuthbert: with an Account of the State in which his Remains were found upon the Opening of his Tomb in Durham Cathedral in the year MDCCCXXVII*, by James Raine, M.A., Durham, 1829.

Also to be consulted are:—*Catalogue of Sculptured and Inscribed Stones*, by Haverfield and Greenwell, Durham, 1899, p. 133; *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, Durham, vol. I, p. 241; *Archaeologia*, vol. LVII, p. 11.

'The first or outer envelope had evidently been of linen; but it must be admitted that of this only a few small portions were observable, and these much discoloured by time. . . .

'The robes beneath this winding sheet were still more decayed; so much so, in fact, that it was quite impossible to detach them one by one, or to preserve any accurate account of their respective shapes, or the order in which they occurred. . . .

'I have before me fragments of at least five, all of silk.'

These fragments together with certain sacred objects which they had enfolded, and with the portions of the enriched oaken coffin already noticed, were taken out for preservation in the cathedral treasury while the body was reinterred in the place where it was found. Again in 1899 the receptacle was reopened in the presence of Canons Fowler and Greenwell and other competent persons, and on this occasion a scientific examination was made of the bones and portions of the integuments, and the results are recorded in vol. 57 of *Archaeologia*. In spite of the famous 'Benedictine tradition' there seems no reasonable doubt that these are the veritable remains of St Cuthbert, but however this may be, even if there were a substitution of bodies at the Reformation, there is no uncertainty whatsoever that the vestments with the sacred objects they had enfolded are genuine relics of the saint. Can we be equally sure about the enriched oaken coffin?

Bede and other writers of the time tell us that on the death of Cuthbert in 687 his body attired in vestments was laid in a stone coffin and placed by the altar in the church of the monastery on Lindisfarne; and that eleven years after the first burial, that is in 698, the coffin was opened and the body, found intact, was invested with new robes by order of the then bishop Eadbercht, and placed in a new receptacle already prepared for it. The words ascribed to the bishop by Bede are noteworthy, 'nova, inquit, indumenta corpori pro his,

quae tulistis, circumdate, et sic reponite in thecam quam parastis.'[1] That this 'theca' thus prepared by the monks is the very same oaken coffin the fragments of which found in 1827 are now preserved in the Cathedral Library is generally accepted as an article of faith, and Canon Greenwell in the Durham Library *Catalogue*, p. 134, is able to 'assert with absolute certainty that what is here described are the actual remains of the coffin prepared in 698 for the reception of the body of Saint Cuthbert.' At a meeting however of the Society of Antiquaries in 1915 the Vice-President of the Society expressed some doubt as to the date of the coffin,[2] and in accordance with the practice followed in this volume of taking nothing for granted the question must be examined afresh.

It is clear in the first place that the coffin cannot be later than the Norman Conquest for the runes of the inscriptions are purely Anglo-Frisian with no Scandinavian element. It is true that the runic S is spoken of in the *Catalogue*, p. 152, as 'Scandinavian.' The form does not however occur in the Scandinavian furthorc and Professor von Friesen explains it[3] as not runic in the strict sense at all but as a 'stylized' form of the Anglo-Saxon minuscule 's,' which survived to quite recent times in the long 's' ('ſ'). See Fig. 16 (p. 184), column 16. Hence the coffin we have now must have been made before the Conquest. It is conceivable that it replaced the original coffin of 698 owing to damage the latter had received during the wanderings of the body of St Cuthbert between the years 875 and 883, at which latter date it was housed at Chester-le-Street; and again in 995, after which it rested at Durham and was in 998[4] deposited in the Anglo-Saxon stone cathedral then consecrated. From that time onwards for nearly a century the body was not apparently

[1] *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. xii.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, N.S., vol. XXVII, p. 137.

[3] In a private communication.

[4] *Sym. Dun.*, Hist. Dun. Eccl., iii, 4.

concealed in a closed receptacle, but was repeatedly visited and more or less reverently inspected, on which occasions offerings of new vestments and the like would be made. In the early part of XI the acting custodian of the body was a sacrist named Elfrid Westoue, who dealt with it with somewhat unseemly familiarity, and, as Reginald of Durham tells his readers,[1] would undo the fastenings of the tomb whenever it so pleased him and swathe the body in what vestments he chose. Shortly after the Norman Conquest the body was carried off for fear of William to Lindisfarne but soon brought back, and the next act in its history opens with the foundation of the new Norman cathedral in the last decade of XI. While the work was in progress a temporary tomb is said to have been arranged for it in the cloister garth, but in 1104 the new choir was far enough finished for a translation of the remains to be taken in hand. On this occasion an examination was made of the coffin and its contents, and of these proceedings two circumstantial accounts are extant, one by an anonymous writer who was a contemporary and apparently an eye-witness, and the other by Reginald of Durham, who wrote somewhere about the year 1175 from information furnished by 'elders of the church' who had themselves heard of the events of 1104 from those who took part in them. The receptacle was opened, as was the case later on in 1827, and the body with its appertainances, as well as what had been buried in company with it, was subjected to a scrutiny that was far from being complete or scientific. This was indeed also the case in 1827, and it was not till quite our own time that a complete examination, that of 1899, was carried out. Certain objects that came to light in 1827 can be dated early in X and are of transcendent artistic interest and value. They will have to be treated fully in their place, and that will be the most suitable occasion for a notice of the appertainances of the body, which consisted in vestments and portable objects that had been

[1] *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus*, etc., Surtees Soc., vol. 1, p. 57.

wrapped in with the vestments, one of which, the reliquary cross of the saint, has already received attention (p. 95 f.), while another, the portable altar of the saint, is figured Pl. XLII, 2. It consisted in an oaken tablet measuring about 5 in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. on the back of which is a dedicatory inscription to St Peter and two incised crosses while the face was covered by a thin silver plate fixed on with pins of the same metal. This is enriched with ornamental designs and letters in repoussé work. It has been now attached to a modern piece of oak and the whole is shown on the Plate. In the centre is an ornamented cross with expanding arms, the outline of which was given Pl. XXV, 6. Round this is a mutilated inscription, which has hitherto baffled the palaeographists.[1] A cross of the simplest Early Christian form (p. 88) appears in the middle of the dexter side. What interests us chiefly, apart from the central cross, is the conventional foliage ornament in the corners. This is of a distinctly classical type reminiscent of the palmette forms common in Hellenistic acanthus ornament, and parallels to it can be found in the Merovingian and allied MSS. of VII and VIII published recently by Dr Zimmermann, see his Plates 5, 7, 21, 46, 54, 58, 64, 117, etc. The piece may therefore possibly be of Gallic origin, which is conceivable too in the case of the pectoral cross. Neither piece looks like Anglian work. It will be advisable here to confine our examination to the receptacle itself, the coffin, and to leave the rest for the future occasion referred to above.

It has been pointed out a few sentences back that the coffin of 698 might have been injured in the era of wandering so that when the sacred body came to rest in 883 at Chester-le-Street a new one had to be fabricated. Such a renewal also may have taken place when the relics were housed in the Saxon cathedral at Durham in 998. The incised designs upon it are of a kind that might have been produced at either of those dates, and we cannot say that the use of purely

[1] See *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, Durham, I, 255.

Anglian runes was even at the end of X impossible in the North. Indeed, the evidence of comparatively late Anglo-Saxon coins (p. 190) would be rather in favour of an ascription to these times of lettering that is partly in Latin partly in runic characters. At the same time an examination of the contemporary account of the translation in 1104 seems to show that there had been no substitution of coffins. This contemporary account was first printed, uncritically, by the Bollandists in connection with March 20, but for a proper treatment of the passage and of the whole document in which it is contained the reader is referred to Surtees Society No. 51, *Symeon of Durham*, vol. 1, pp. xxxix f. and 188 f., and *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series, 75/1, pp. xii and 247 f. All that needs to be noted here is that according to the Rolls editor it is very possible that the account was written by Symeon himself whom we know to have been present at the translation. We are told how at nightfall on August 24 the temporary tomb was broken open with tools of iron, and the awestruck eyes of the representatives of the monastic body entrusted with the work fell upon a chest, 'arca,' covered all over with hides carefully arranged and fixed with iron nails. The size and weight of the chest suggested that there was another coffin within it, but it was a long time before holy diffidence was sufficiently overcome for a further examination to be made. At length the iron bands of the chest were removed and the cover lifted. What followed is of such importance for the question before us, and is so valuable as based on the report of an eye-witness, that the Latin original is appended below.[1]

[1] 'Vident introrsus positum loculum de ligno, quem grossior de lino triplicis texturae pannus undique circumdederat, ad mensuram staturae virilis longum, ejusdemque generis tabula coopertum. Haerebant diu; non enim satis elucebat utrum ipsum sancti corporis hospitium esset, an et aliud adhuc sacras continens reliquias intra se domicilium contineret. Tandem in se reversi, memores dictorum Bedae, qui corpus beati Cuthberti a fratribus quondam Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae, post undecem sepulturae annos incorruptum inventum, et supra pavimentum dignae venerationis gratia reconditum

From this it appears that within the hide-covered chest there was found a wooden coffer swathed in linen, of the size and shape suitable to contain a human body, and closed with a wooden lid. At once there came into their minds the remembrance of Bede's account of the burial of the body of the saint eleven years after his death in a wooden coffin, and they debated whether or not this was the very receptacle thus mentioned. After trying to see through chinks what was inside, they lifted the cover and found beneath it a second lid on which was lying a copy of the Gospels—not of course the famous illuminated codex—and beneath this second lid they discovered the sacred body.

It is clear that there existed no knowledge in the minds of these representatives of the monkish community of any renewal of the coffin containing St Cuthbert's relics. The only coffin that occurred to them was the coffin described by Bede, and they had no hesitation in identifying, if only as a working theory, the wooden chest which they saw with the receptacle made in 698. The question is, Can any substitution of a new coffin for the original one have actually taken place one or two centuries before without some knowledge or tradition of the fact having survived in the community? Due account must of course be taken of the drastic changes effected in the personnel and constitution of the Durham monastery by the Norman ecclesiastics who took it in hand after the Conquest, but one tradition was allowed to survive unbroken and this

describit; horum, inquam, dictorum reminiscentes, hanc eandem esse arcam animadvertunt, quae per tot annos tantum coelestis depositi thesaurum conservasset. . . .

'Tunc, ablato quod locellum obtexerat, velamine, non statim ausi sunt aperire, sed, cum candelis circumeuntes, diligenter explorarunt, si per aliquas forte rimulas vel aliud quidlibet indicium, quid intrinsecus lateret deprehendere possent. Sed cum haec agentibus nil certum pateret, tandem amoto, licet non sine pavore, operculo, vident librum Evangeliorum ad caput supra tabulam positum, ipsamque tabulam . . . tabulam quandoque levant, ablatoque . . . ecce beati Patris venerabile corpus . . . reperiunt.'

was the St Cuthbert tradition. The Normans were far too worldly-wise not to preserve this intact, as upon it was based the financial potentialities of the institution. St Cuthbert was the great Durham asset as Thomas Becket was the great asset of Canterbury, and the writings in the Norman period of Symeon of Durham show how well remembered were the events of the remarkable posthumous history of the Saint. The coffin that enshrined the relics in 1104 was, as Reginald of Durham records, an ornamented one, and this cannot have been made and the body translated into it in IX or X without some knowledge of this surviving. It is a matter of

FIG. 30.—The Coffin of St Cuthbert, restored.

conjecture, but it seems likely enough that the hide-covered 'arca' which enclosed the actual coffin had been made at the time of the exodus from Lindisfarne for the express purpose of keeping the sacred receptacle safe on its journeyings, and on a review of the whole situation we need not hesitate to accept the coffin the fragments of which are now preserved at Durham as the veritable original.

These fragments are described and figured in the often quoted Durham *Catalogue*,[1] and Fig. 30 reproduces a half-sized model of the coffin made from the evidence of the fragments. The original coffin was of oak about $\frac{7}{8}$ in. in thickness,

[1] Our best thanks are due to the Dean and Chapter of Durham for their kindness in lending the blocks from which Figs. 30 to 34 have been printed.

PLATE XLIII

PORTION OF THE COFFIN OF ST CUTHBERT

Cathedral Library, Durham

and measured about 6 ft. 8 in. in length by a width at the head of 17 in. and at the foot of 16 in., with a depth of $17\frac{1}{2}$ in. For full details and technical information the reader is referred to the *Catalogue*, and to the notice in the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, Durham, II, p. 241. Our concern is only with the decoration which consists in figure designs incised on the lid, the two sides, and the two ends. The technique is much the same as that used to produce the designs on the Hartlepool slabs discussed in an earlier chapter of this Volume, and the grooves are in parts V-shaped 'evidently made by a knife cutting from two sides towards the centre,' while 'a very narrow hollow chisel or gouge' has also been employed, and fine lines such as those forming the inscriptions have been simply incised with the point of a knife. Pl. XLIII gives a view of two archangels inscribed Michael and Gabriel that appear on one of the ends. The photograph is from the original fragments. The scheme of decoration includes, on the lid a Christ in Glory, Fig. 31, with symbols of the Evangelists above and below, Fig. 32; also on one long side six archangels in half-length figures, and on the other in two rows busts of the Apostles. On the end opposite to that decorated with the two archangels of Pl. XLIII is a group of the Mother and Child shown Fig. 33. The inscriptions over the figures and symbols are given in Fig. 34 and are partly in runes partly in Latin characters. The illustration is copied from the plates in the *Catalogue* on which the characters have been drawn with great care by an expert draughtsman and antiquary who worked with Canon Greenwell when the precious fragments were thoroughly studied and brought together. They are now preserved under glass in the Durham Cathedral Library under the charge of the Sacrist and Librarian, Canon H. D. Hughes, who has been kind enough to re-examine and verify some of the more important incised characters. In Fig. 34 a transliteration is given underneath the runic words or letters. The bind-rune $\widehat{\text{MA}}$ occurs twice, but from the runological

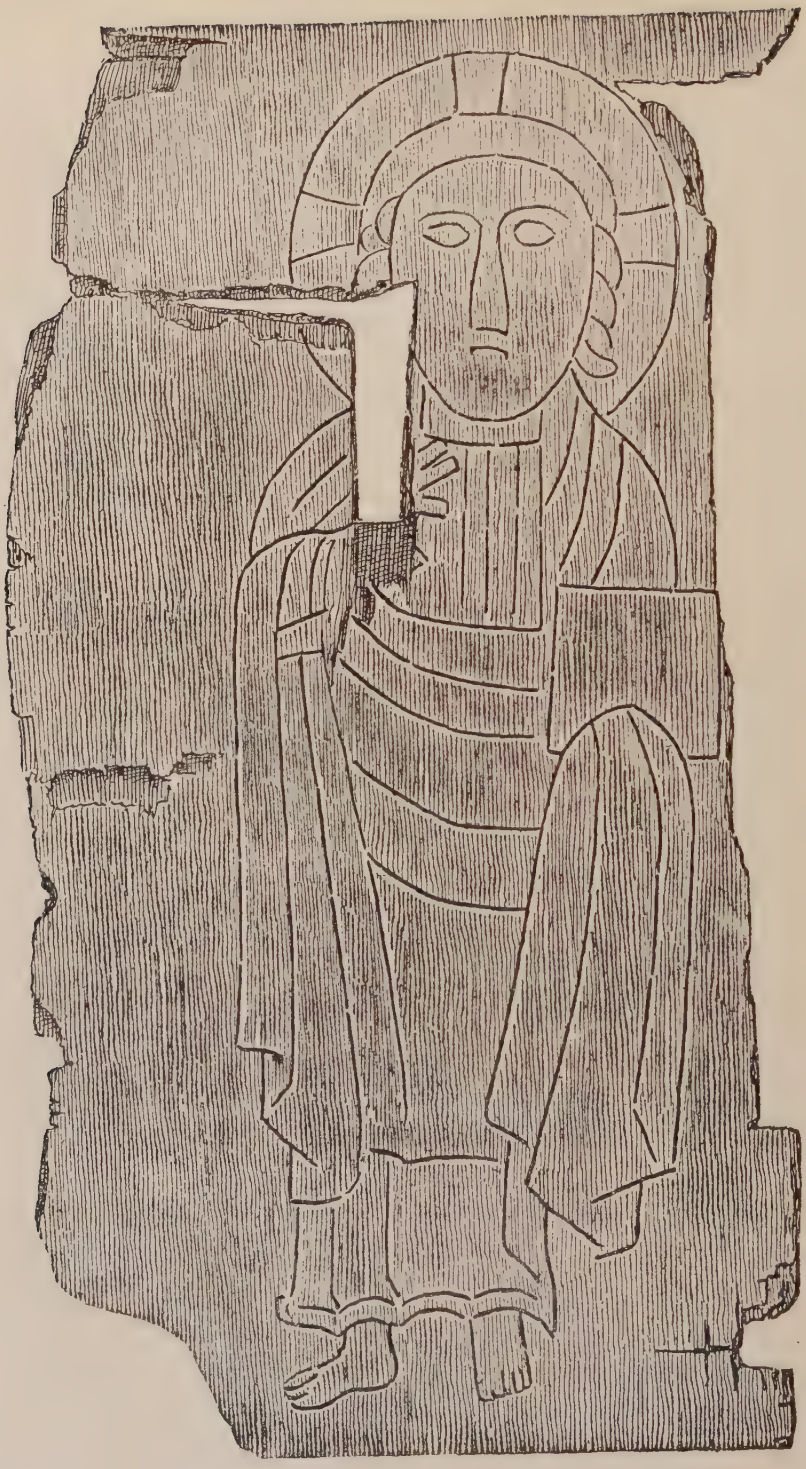

FIG. 31.—Christ in Glory, from the coffin of St Cuthbert.

point of view the inscription over the Mother and Child, see Fig. 33, is of most interest. The characters, in the last column of Fig. 34, read IHS XPS and it is noteworthy that the X is expressed by a very rare runic character the

Fig. 32.—Symbols of Matthew and Mark, from the coffin.

significance of which this use of it serves to fix. The character for S has been explained above (p. 399).

As regards the artistic quality of the drawing, its comparative naïveté or even childishness has often formed the subject of comment, and comparisons have been drawn between it and the masterly work in the Gospels of Lindis-

farne. Dom Leclercq however praises it,[1] and Canon Greenwell finds 'considerable invention and power of design' in the 'arrangement and delineation of the figures,' with 'great spirit and character in the animals.' The really important

FIG. 33.—The Mother and Child, from the coffin.

question is the following, Is the work so different from that in the Gospels as to make it impossible to accept the two monuments as contemporary? The answer to this must be in the negative. It is not difficult to understand that differences in the capacity of the executive craftsmen, in the technical processes involved, and in the nature of the models followed,

[1] Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, II, col. 3289.

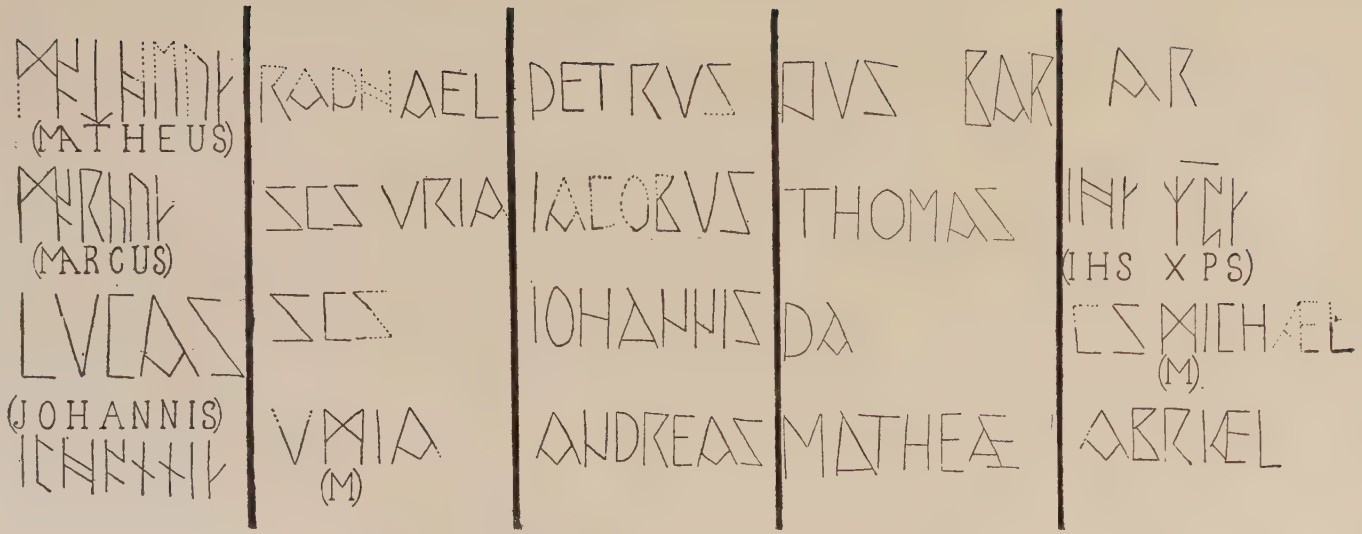

FIG. 34.—Runic and Latin Lettering on the coffin of St Cuthbert.

may have resulted in contemporary works so divergent in artistic merit. The carvers of the crosses and the scribe of Lindisfarne must have been exceptionally gifted men, and we have seen reason to believe that they were Northumbrians. The stone carvers most probably worked from sculptured models the forms of which did not require to be translated into a different technique, whereas if carved ivories were the models for the work on the coffin the plastic product would have to be reproduced in graphic form in the flat, and the difficulty of this would account for some bungling. On the other hand, if the models were drawings or paintings on the flat, as was the case with the figure work in the contemporary manuscripts, we can understand that the result would be much better if the pen or brush were used on parchment in a quite familiar technique than if the technique were the unfamiliar and difficult one of incising on wood. The wood employed for the coffin has a very decided grain, as the photograph Pl. XLIII sufficiently shows, and accurate drawing upon it by incision would be more difficult than similar work on the soft and even-grained limestone of the Hartlepool 'pillow' stones. All these considerations should be taken into account, but the strongest argument in favour of accepting the coffin-work at its face value as a natural product of its time and place is the resemblance of it to the figure drawing of the one picture in the Codex Amiatinus. This Northumbrian work is contemporaneous with the Gospels of Lindisfarne, though it was not produced in the same scriptorium, and while in the same

FIG. 35.—St Mark, from the Codex Amiatinus.

easy technique it is artistically much inferior. The specimen here given in Fig. 35 contrasts with the Lindisfarne drawings just as markedly as do the incised designs on the coffin, and seems on the whole to stand on approximately the same artistic level as these incised delineations. Hence its date may be held to fix that of the ornamented coffin.

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